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THE

POLITICAL

STATE

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN.

Vol. VI.

Containing

The Months of July, August, September, October, November and December.

M DCC XIII.



LONDON:

Printed for John Baker, at the Black-Boy in Fater-Nofter-Row. M DCC XIII.



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THE

POLITICAL STATE

FOR

The Month of July, 1713.

London, July 31. 1713.

SIR,



Musion made moved in the House of Lords for be presented to the Queen, removing the that she would be pleas'd to Pretender from Lorrain.

of Lorrain, and with all the Princes and States in Amity and Correspondence with her Majesty, that they would not receive, or suffer to continue within any of their Dominions the Pretender to the Imperial Crown of these Realms.

Several Members appearing furpriz'd at this unexpected Motion, which was undoubtedly design'd to try the Inclinations and Assertions of some Persons; there was a Pause for a while. At last the

Vol. VI. the Lord N—and G— broke filence, and endeavour'd to have that Motion laid aThe Ld. N. fide, representing that such an Address against is.

Would shew a Distrust either of the Queen, or the Ministers; that her Maiesty would be very much puzzled what

to do, in Case the Princes and States in Amity with Her, should be unwilling to comply with her Instances, since it would not be in her Power to compel

would not be in her Power to compel them; concluding with this Question,

where they would have the Bretonder relide, fince most, if not all the Powers

reside, since most, if not all the Powers
 in Europe were in Amity with her Ma jesty? To this a noble * Earl was said

to have answer'd, That since he began his Studies in Paris, the sixest Place for him to improve himself was Rome. After some other warm Expressions between two other great Lords, it was unanimously refolv'd that such an Address should be presented to her Majesty. Accordingly on the 2d of July the House of Lords attended her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following Address should be preded her Majesty with the following the preded her Majesty with the following

dress:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Address of WE Your Majesties most Dutiful she House of Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament shePretender assembled, do take leave humbly to return to your Majesty the Thanks of this House, for the great Care it appears to us your Majesty has, on all Occasions, taken to prevent the Preten-

der to your Crown from coming into any of your Majesties Dominions: And

we do humbly befeech your Majesty,

for July, 1713.

that for the Safety of your Person and Vol. VI. Government, the Security of the Protestant Succession in the House of Hansower, and for the Peace and Quiet of these your Kingdoms, your Majesty will be graciously pleased to use your most pressing Instances with the Duke of Lorrain, and with all Princes and States in Amity and Correspondence with your Majesty, that they will not receive, or suffer to continue within any of their Dominions the Pretender to the Imperial Crown of these Realms.

To this Address her Majesty was pleased to give the following Answer.

My Lords,

Take extreme kindly your Address, and The Queen's the Thanks you give Me for what I have Answer. done for Establishing the Protestant Succession.

I shall repeat my Instances to have that Person removed according as you Desire in

this Address.

And I promise my self you will Concur with Me, That if we could Cure our Animosities and Divisions at Home, it would be the most Effectual Method to Secure the Protestant Suc-

cession.

The Lord Chancellor having the next
*Day reported her Majesty's Answer to
the House of Peers, a Noble Duke said,
he never heard of any Instances that
had yet been made to the Duke of Lorrain, for the removing the Pretender
out of his Dominions. If either of the
two principal Ministers of State had been
in the House, they might, in all ProbabiA 2 lity,

* July 31.

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Vol. VI. lity, have better explain'd her Majesty's Answer, but they happen'd to be both at Dinner with the Duke d' Aumont, Ambaffador Extraordinary from his most Christian Majesty. Hereupon the Earl of A 2d. Address Sunderland made a Motion for a second Address; which was back'd by the Earl against the Pretender. of Nottingham, and, notwithstanding some order'd by the Lords to be small Opposition, it was 'Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in presented to Parliament assembled. That an humble the Queen. Address be presented to her Majesty. to return the Thanks of this House to her Majesty, for her most Gracious Anfwer to their Address; and for the Asfurances her Majesty has been pleased to give us of repeating her Instances for removing the Pretender; and to exf press our Surprize, that such Instances have not had their full Effect, notwithflanding the French King, and the King of Spain, have shewed their Compliance to her Majesties Desires on that Occafion; and to assure her Majesty, that this House will Stand by her, and Snpport her, in whatever her Majesty shall judge proper for obtaining a Demand, which is so Warranted by the Laws of Nations, and so necessary for the Honour and Safety of her Majesty, and for the present and future Peace and Quiet of the People. It was also Ordered. That the faid Address be prefented to her Majesty by the Lords with white Staves: Which was done accordingly; and on Monday, the fixth of July, the Lord Steward acquainted the House, That the Lords with white Staves had pre-Sented sented to her Majesty the Address of this Vol. VI. House of Friday last; and her Majesty was pleased to receive the same very Graciously,

It was suggested, that neither this second Address nor even the first, was pleafing to some Persons; but be that as it will, on Tuesday the first of July, Gene- Morion made ral Stanhope, made a Motion in the House by General of Commons, to the same Purpose with Stanhope for that of the Earl of Wharton the Day be- an Address a. fore in the House of Peers, and was se-gainst the Pre-

conded by Mr. Lechwere. The only Objection rais'd against it, was started by Sir William Whitlocke, who said, He remembred, that the like Address was formerly made to the Protettor, for having Charles Stuart remov'd out of France: Notwith-franding which that Prince was, some time

after, restor'd to his Father's Throne: But nevertheless those few Members who might have any Affection for the present Royal Exile being shy to shew it, on so critical a Juncture, when the Parliament being so near expiring, a new Election

was coming on, it was, according to Mr. Stanhope's Motion, Resolv'd Nemine Con- Resolution for

tradicente, That an humble Address be in ' presented to her Majesty, acknowledg-

ing the great Care her Majesty has al-

ways taken, particularly in the late * Treaties of Peace and Guaranty, to pre-

vent the Pretender to her Throne be-

ing in a Condition to disturb these Realms; and to befeech her Majesty,

'That she will use the most speedy and

' pressing Instances with the Duke of Lor-

rain, and with all other Princes and

States in Amity or Correspondence with

Unanimous

Vol. VI. with her Majesty, That they will not J' under any Pretext whatsoever, receive or fuffer to continue within any of their 6 Dominions the Person who in Defiance of her Majesty's most undoubted Title to the Crown, and the Settlement thereof in the Illustrious House of Hanever, has assumed the Title of King of these Realms: And to assure her Majesty, That the Commons of Great Britain will on all Occasions, to the utmost of their Power, support her Majesty in such Steps, as shall be necessary towards rendring those Instances effectual. this a Committee was appointed to draw up the said Address, which Mr. Stanhope. Chairman of the Committee, reported to the House on the 3d of July; and the fame being unanimously approved, was + July 8th five Days - after, presented, by the Speaker with the whole House, to her Ma-

The Commons Address to the Queen against c the Pretender

jesty, as follows.

Most Gracious Sovereign. XIE Your Majesty's most Dutiful V and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament affembled, having nothing so justly at our Hearts as the Honour and Safety of your most Sacred Person and Government, and the Security of the Protestant Succession, do crave Leave most thankfully to acknowledge the great Care which your Majesty, in Tenderness to your People, hath always taken to forevent the Pretender to your Crown from being in a Condition to disturb these Realms; and particularly by the

late

late Treaty of Guaranty with the States Vol. VI. General, and the Treaty of Peace between your Majesty and the French King: wherein, amongst other just and necessary Provisions for the Security of the Protestant Succession, it is stipula-ted. That the Pretender to your Mae jesty's Crown shall not be suffered to ' reside in any of that King's Dominions. Your Majesty wisely insisted upon his Removal from that Neighbouring Kingdom, and your faithful Commons are ' fo fully convinced of the Necessity there is to remove him so far as possible, that they cannot but express to your Maje-' fty their Apprehensions of the many Dangers which may accrue to your Ma-

' jesty, and to your Kingdoms, from his reliding in the Territories of the Duke of Lorrain.

We do therefore, out of the highest Duty and Concern for the Preservation of your Royal Person, and the Quiet of 'your People, most humbly beseech your Majesty, That you will be pleased to " use the most speedy and pressing inflances with the Duke of Lorrain, and with all other Princes and States in ' Amity, or Correspendence with your Maiesty, that they will not, under any Pretext whatsoever, réceive, or suffer to continue within any of their Dominions, that Person, who, in Defiance of your Majesty's most undoubted Title to the Crown, and the Settlement there-of on the Illustrious House of Hanover, has assumed the Title of King of these Realms; And we further beg Leave to

affure

Vol. VI. ' affure your Majesty, That the Commons of Great Britain will on all Occa-fions, to the utmost of their Power,

fupport your Majesty in such Steps as

Inall be necessary towards rendring those instances effectual, and your Ma-

e jesty safe and easy upon your Throne.

To this Address the Queen was pleased to answer :

The Queen's Answer.

GENTLEMEN. Thank you heartily for your Address, and I will give Directions according as you

Desire.

This Answer being the next reported to the House by the Speaker, it was una-nimously resolved, to return her Majesty the Thanks of the House for the same.

Those who inquired into the Reasons of these Addresses against the Pretender. were apt to ascribe them, not only to the noble and magnificent Reception that Prince met with in Lorrain, but also to the Affection which many did not foruple to shew for him in Great Britain. Two remark- this Purpose, many took Notice

able Addresses two Addresses, that were about this from Scotland time, presented to the Queen by Sir Hugh in favour of Paterson Bart. introduced by the Earl of the Lineal Suc- Mar, and afterwards inserted in the Lonce∏ion.

don Gazette of the 4th of July. The first of the Magistrates and Town Council of the Burgh of Inverness in North Britain, contain'd this remarkable Paragraph, viz. We, without Reserve, depend on your Majesty's Wisdom in securing our Religion and the Succession to the Hereditary Crown of Great Britain,

Britain, in the Family of your Royal Pro- Vol. VI. genitors, the most ancient Line of Succession in the World; being as much convinced that our Guarantee is entirely in Your Hands, as Your Serene Majesty does place Yours in Your People. The other Address from the Town Council and Inhabitants of the Loyal Burgh of Nairne, also in North Britain, had this Passage in it, viz. We know not with what Modelly we can presume to address your Majesty, in the matter of the Succession, left we should seem to call in question your Majesty's unquestionable Prudence, or the Faithfulness of your Majesty's Council: And therefore we sincerely declare, That our utmost Wishes reach no further than that our Posterity may reap the Effects of your Majesty's wife CHOICE, while we think our selves happy under your Majesty's Administration all our Days. These Addresses speak so plain, that they need no Comment: But on the other hand, we may here take Notice, That some time before an Address from the City of Glasgow, in a quite different Strain, at least as to the Succession, was presented to the Queen by the Members for that City, introduced by the Duke of Argyle, as follows:

Vol. VI.

To the QUEEN's most Excellent Majesty. Remarkable

vour of the House of Hanover.

Address of the City of Glass and Common-Council of the City of Glafgow, for themselves and in Name of the whole Incorporations and Community thereof.

May it please your Majesty,

TATE humbly beg Leave to Congratulate 🗸 🗸 your Majesty, upon your having given

Peace to your Kingdoms.

Our late Exemies having, in your repeated Victories, so severely felt the Force of your Arms, we never doubted of their willingness to receive their Peace from your Majesty, whenever your Royal Clomency should induce

you to grant it.

How happy were we, if Peace and War were ever to take place by the Distates of your Royal Wisdom; Plenty in the one, Victory in the other, and Liberty in both, would be the inseparable, never-seasing Instuences of your Reign: But since Humanity Interrupts our Wishes, since the Sovereign Lord of all has Decreed one Day to afflict these Nations with a fatal Instance of the Mortality of the Greatest, the Best here on Earth, we are reduced, in Compassion to the Unfortunate who may survive, and in behalf of our Posterity. to have Recourse to a Subsidiary Relief: This Your Majesty has been graciously pleased your felf to confirm to us in the Illustrious House of Hanover. This Parliament has had the Happiness to hear Your Majesty declare from the Throne, That you would transmit the Constitution to Posterity, by employing none but Such

fuch who are heartily for the Protestant Succession in that Family; That no Person can be more truly concerned for the Interest of it than your self, and that your chief Concern is, that the Protestant Religion, and the Lams and Liberties of these Nations may be continued to us, by securing the Succession as limited by Parliament.

Such Gracious Declarations must justly condemic all those as the worst of your Subjects, who, from their Hatred of the happy Revolution, and their Disregard to the Protestant Religion, the Liberties of these Nations, and consequently of all Europe, would Hope or Institutes the Succession, as depending on your Majesty, to be procarious, they ought in Duty to know, that when our Queen has pro-

mised, She cannot but perform.

We think our selves obliged in all Humility, to offer our unseigned Thanks for such Your Majesty's tender and provident Care of our Religion, our Laws and Liberties, a Blessing which falls as unmerited, as unwish'd for on those, who not only upon these Occasions of approaching your Royal Person, are wilfully unmindful of it themselves, but presume publickly to Reproach your most faithful Subjects for performing this important part of their Duty.

We have the deepest Sense of Gratitude for Your Majesty's frequent Assurances of your Royal Protestion to the Church of Scotland as Establish'd by Law; we observe the Rage and Malice of its Enemies with little Regard; for since so many of them impiously refuse to offer up their Prayers for Your Majesty and the Protestant Succession, we cannot wender at their want of Charity for the Ministers

Vol. VI. nisters of our Church, who have with such Zeal and Unanimity so lately testified, by a Solemn Act, their Loyalty to Your Majesty, and their Aversion to the Pretender to your Crown.

> It is our constant Prayer, That these Nations may long enjoy the Blessings of Your Majesty's Reign, that we may late, very late, owe any new Allegiance; but that the Almighty, who out of his infinite Wisdom and Goodness has hitherto preserved Your Majesty, may long continue his Providential Care of these Kingdoms by Blessing our Queen. We are, may it please Your Majesty, Your Majesty's most Loyal, most Dutiful, and most Obedient Subjects and Servants.

To return to the Proceedings in Parliament: On Wednesday the first Day of

to prevent double Returns of Members July 1ft.

Bill to con. July, Mr. Shackerly presented to the House tique the Att of Commons, a Bill for continuing an Att made in the 7th Year of the late K. William, entituled, An Act to prevent false and double Returns of Members to serve in Parliament, which was read the first time, and order'd a fecond Reading. After fome other Business of less Importance, Mr. Conyers reported to the House the Resolutions taken two Days before, in a

Resolutions Grand Committee on the Supply, which on the Supply. were read as follows: 'I. That a Sum onot exceeding Four Thousand Eight

> Hundred Seventy Nine Pounds, Six Shillings, be granted to her Majesty for ' defraying the Charge of half Pay to the Officers of the four Marine Regi-

> e ments to be disbanded, from the ist of July 1713, to the 24th of December following. II. Two Thousand Se-

> > ' venty

venty Three Pounds, for the extraor- Vol. VI. dinary Allowance of One Penny per Diem to each Dragoon in North Britain ' in Lieu of Green and Dry Forage, between the 23d of December 1711, and the 31st of May 1713. 'Ill. Two 'Thousand One Hundred Sixty One Pounds, Six Shillings and Seven Pence, for the Pay of the Commission Officers of Seven Companies of Invalids form'd out of the Out-Pensioners of Chellea ' Hospital, from the Dates of their Com-' missions to the Times of their Discon-IV. Two Thousand Two finuance. ' Hundred Sixty Nine Pounds, Nine Shillings, for the Bounty Money allow'd to the Men disbanded out of the Horse, Foot and Dragoons in Britain, in the 4 Year 1712. V. Three Hundred Eighty ' Eight Pounds, Six Shillings, for the Pay of an Additional Major to the Colastream Regiment of Foot Guards, from the s 25th of April 1711. to the 21st of De-* cember 1713. VI. Two Thousand One Hundred Eighty Pounds, Six Shillings, for the Pay of the Garrison of Annapolis ' Royal. from the 25th of August 1712, to the 21st of December following, according to the Establishment. VII. One Forty Pounds, for Ninety Seven Horses of the Regi-' ment, late Lieutenant General Palmes's, which were killed and taken by the Ee nemy near Doway, in the Campagne '1711. VIII. Eight Thousand Eight ' Hundred Fifty One Pounds, Eight Shil-Ings and Six Pence, three Farthings, for Forage Money for Five Battalions of Foot

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· Foot that ferv'd in the Lew Countries, in the Year 1712, over and above the Forty Thousand Men; and for extraordiary Charge of Forage for Sixteen Squadrons of Dragoons in their Winter Quarters in Bruges 1712-13, and for Wagon Money for the faid Five Batalions. IX. Eight Thousand Three Hundred Pounds, for the Pay and Forage ' Money of the General Officers, their Aids de Camp, and Majors of Brigade, who serv'd in Flanders in the Year 1712. over and above what is born upon the Establishment for that Year. X. Nine ' Hundred Pound to make good the loss of a Quantity of Cloathing of Colonel Edward Joues's Regiment, which was cast away, with Part of the Regiment, in their Passage from Ireland towards Portugal. XI. One Thousand Four Hundred Sixty three Pounds, Sixteen Shil-4 lings, to supply the Subfistence Money of the Regiments of Major General Elion and Sir Robert Rich in Gibraltar, which was taken by the Enemy on board one of her Majesty's Ships. 'Two Thousand Seven Hundred Forty Nine Pounds, 13 Shillings, for the Allowances to the Commillioners appointed to examine the Affairs of the Army and War in Spain and Portugal, and to their Secretary, and for Contingencies, from the 21st of December 1712, to the for ioth of April following. XIII. Two 'Thousand one Hundred thirty Six Pounds, ' for the Pay of the Officers of the Garrison of Dunkirk, from the 27th of June 1712, to the 21st of December following, according.

cording to the Establishment. XIV. Vol. VI. 'Two Thousand Six Hundred Ninety ' Eight Pounds, Fourteen Shillings and Five Pence, for the Pay of the Officers of the Garrisons of Gibraltar and Port " Mahon, for three Quarters of the Year 1712, according to their old Establishment. XV. Two Thousand Pounds, to defray the Charge of covering the For-' tifications already begun in North Bri-' cain.' These Resolutions being severally read a second Time, the 5th, 8th, and oth, were difagreed, some Members having fuggested, that there was no Reason to pay any Extraordinaries for Generals who had done nothing: But the other Resolutions were agreed to by the House. After this Mr. Loundes profested to the House (pursuant to their Address to her Majesty) an Estimate of Civil List Debts on the 24th of June 1713, and acquainted the House, That the Account of the neat Produce of the Civil Lift Fonds fince her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, was preparing, and would be ready in a Day or two: Hereupon the faid Estimate was order'd to lie upon the Table. Then Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the House, That their Address haring been presented to her Majesty re- The Queen's lating to the evacuating the Towns in Answer about Flanders, her Majesty had been pleas'd to the Towns in command him to acquaint this House, That She would take Care that the Towns in Flanders in Her Majesty's Possession, be not evacuated till these who were to have the Sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands agreed to such Articles for regulating Trade,

Vol. VI. as might put the Subjects of Great Britain

upon an equal Foot with those of any other Nation: Upon which it was resolv'd to address her Majesty, 'That an Estimate be laid before this House of the Number of Troops necessary in the said Towns in Flanders, till such time as the Trade there be so settled, as might put the Subjects of Great Britain upon an equal Foot with those of any other Nation; And also an Account of the Charge for maintaining the same. After this it was order'd that the Officers of the Ordinance do lay before the House an Account of the Effects in their Office for purchasing Lands for erecting Fortifications for Security of the Docks at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich, and of the Proceedings that had been in relation thereunto: And then the House adjourn'd The Speaker to the Friday following, by Reason of the

Speaker's Indisposition.

Indispos'd,

* July 2d. ving Day.

The Commons being that * Day met The Queen's again, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Message to the by her Majesty's Commands acquain-Commons in ted the House, That Her Majesty has ap-vising them to pointed Tuesday the Seventh of this Instant go to Paul's on Pointed Tuesday the Seventh of Publication the Thanksgi-July, to be observed as a Day of Publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God, on Occasion of the Safe and Hononrable Peace concluded lately at Utrecht; And for the greater Solemnity of that Day, Her Majesty will be pleased to go to St. Paul's Church, as has been accustomed in former Times in this Kingdom, to return Thanks to Almighty God for the Blessings of Peace, in which not only Her Majesty, but all Her Subjects are fo highly concerned. And that Her Majesty hat h

hath been pleased to give necessary Orders Vol. VI. for providing convenient Places in the said Cathedral for the Members of this House: Whereuppn it was Refolu'd, First, ' That the humble Thanks of this House be ' returned to Her Majesty, for Her Gracious Favour in communicating to this ' House her Intention of going to St. ' Paul's Church upon the Day of Thanks-' giving appointed by her Majesty, and ' for having been pleased to give Orders ' for providing convenient Places in the ' faid Cathedral for the Members of this 'House. Secondly, That this House will 'attend her Majesty as an House to St. ' Paul's Church, upon the Day appointed ' for a publick Thanksgiving.' Upon the Reading of the Order of the Day for the House to resolve it self into a Committee of the whole House on the Bill to raise 1200000 l. by circulating Exchequer Bills, and on the Bill for enabling her Majesty to raise 500000 l. it was order'd, That the said Committee be instructed to receive two Clauses, one 'to ' prevent the Forging or Counterfeiting ' Exchequer Bills, to be issued by Virtue of the faid Bills; the other, for appropriating the Moneys granted this Session of Parliament.' Then the House resolv'd it self into a Committee upon the said Bills; consolidated them, and consolidated. made several Amendments to them; amended, and which were reported to the House, on order's, to be the oth of July, to which Day the House engross'd. adjourn'd; and, with other Amendments to some of them, agreed to by the House; and the Bill order'd to be engross'd Upon

Upon the Expediation of the Queen's Vol. VI. going to St. Paul's on the Thanksgiving

Great Ex-Day, great Preparations were made in pedation of the Cities of London and Westminster for that Solemnity, and vast Numbers of Peoto Paul's

ple came from all Parts to be Spectators; but to the great Disappointment of many, on Monday the 6th of July, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, by her Majesty's

Command acquainted the Commons, That Her Majesty's Her Majesty not having entirely recovered a. Her Strength since Her last Fit of the Gout, bout ber not and being apprehensive that the Fatigue of go-going. ing to St. Paul's Church, as She intended,

may be too great, chooses rather to return Her Thanks to Almighty God for the Blefsings of Peace in Her Chapel at St. James's; but desires, that this House will proceed to St. Paul't Church with as much Solemnity as if Her Majesty was to be in Person there. Hereupon it was Resolv'd, 'That this House will go from the House to St. Paul's Church to Morrow, to the Solemnity of the Publick Thanksgiving. 2dly. That this House will be going to their Places prepared for them in the Choir of St. Panl's Church, to Morrow by Nine of the Clock in the Morning. After this it was order'd, That no Member do go

into the Place of the Choir in St. Paul's

6 Church, provided for this House, before Mr. Speaker and the House come

thither. 2dly, That the Sergeant at Arms, attending this House, do take in-

to Custody all and every Person and

Persons (other than the Members and Officers of this House) that shall pre-

fume to press or come in the Place in

the Choir in St. Paul's Church, provi- Vol. VI. ded for the Members of this House. adly. That Mr. Speaker do appoint the feveral Door-Keepers to keep the Pasfages to the Places provided for the 6 Members of this House, in the Choir 6 of St. Paul's Church, and that they do not prefume to let any Persons but fuch as are Members and Officers of the House, into the Places provided for this House. 4thly, That the Members do go to St. Paul's in their own Coaches, with a Pair of Horses only in each ' Coach. 5thly, That no Hackney Coaches. Carts, or Drays, be permitted to go on Luesday the 7th Instant, between the · Palace Yard Westminster, and Temple Bar, between the Hours of Nine and Two 4 of the Clock; And that Mr. Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Justices of the Peace, the Bailiff of Westminster, and other proper Officers, to prevent the fame. othly, That for the more order-' ly Proceeding to the faid Solemnity, and for preventing any Disorder there-' in upon this Occasion, Mr. Speaker's ' Coach do go first, and the Members Coaches follow his one by one. 7thly, 'That no Members Coach do go out of the Palace Tard before Mr. Speaker's 'Coach. The same + Day, upon the Defire of the Lords authorized by Virtue of her Majesty's Commission, the Speaker with the House went up to the House of Peers, and heard the Commission read, authorizing several Lords therein named, to notify and declare in her Majesty's Absence, the Royal Assent to **feveral**

🕂 July sth.

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VI. feveral Bills therein mentioned. Accordingly the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the Lord President of Her Majesty's Council, and the Lord Steward of her Majesty's Houshould, did notify and declare the Royal Assent to the publick Bills following, viz. 1. An Ast to explain

Alls passid.

declare the Royal Assent to the publick Bills following, viz. 1. An Act to explain a Clause in an Act of the last Session of Parliament, entituled, An Act for the more effectual preventing fraudulent Conveyances, in order to multiply Votes for the electing Knights of Shires to ferve in Parliament, as far as the same relates to the ascertaining the Value of Freeholds of Forty Shillings per Annum. 2. An Act for the more effectual preventing and punishing Robberies that shall be committed in Houses. 3. An Act for the better regulating the Elections of Members to serve in Parliament for that Part of Great Britain called Scotland. 4. An Act for raising the Militia for the Year 1713, altho' the Months Pay formerly advanced be not paid. 5. An Act for con. tinuing an Act made in the third and fourth Years of the Reign of her present Majesty, entituled, An Act for encouraging the importation of Naval Stores from her Maiesty's Plantations in America, and for encouraging the Importation of Naval Stores from that part of Great Britain called Scotland to that part of Great Britain called England. 6. An Alt for continuing the Acts therein mentioned for preventing Theft and Rapine upon the Northern Borders of England: And to Nine private Bills. The Commons being return'd to their House, Mr. Loundes presented to them pursuant to their Address tQ.

to her Majesty, an Abstract of the Ac- Vol. VI. counts of neat Money arisen for uses of Accounts of the Civil Government, between the 8th neat Money at of March 1701, and Michaelmas 1712 risen for the And the Title thereof being read, it was use of the Ci-Ordered, That the said Abstract do lie up-vil Governon the Table.

On Tuesday the 7th of July, both Houses of Parliament met in order to their going to St. Baul's Church; But it was obChurch July
ferv'd, that very few Members of the 7th. Whige Party, in either House, appear'd in that Solemnity, which is not much to Reason why be wonder'd at; fince it would have been few Whigg preposterous, if not a mocking of Reli-Members gota gion, for Men to return Almighty God Thanks for a Peace, which they had endeavour'd to prevent, and still disapproved. After Divine Service, and the finging of Te Deum to excellent Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental compos'd by the famous Mr. Hendel, Dr. George Hooper, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, preach'd Lord Bishop of Bath and Weys, preached before both Houses a Sermon on this Wellspreaches Text, Pfalm cxxii. v. 7. Peace be within before both thy Walls, and Plenteousness within thy Pala- Houses. ees. That Prelate having in the Beginning of his Discourse acknowledged God's Goodness to these Kingdoms, in putting a happy End to a Necessary and Victorious, but tedious consumptive War; and by bringing us at last ' to the joyful Festival of a long desir'd Peace; affirm'd, that this Day of Peace is with much more Reason to be con-' gratulated, than that of the most celebrated Victory gain'd by us in any the ' most fortunate Year of a long War;

The Bp. of

Abstratt of this Sermon.

Vol. VI. Gince thereby a Pious Queen and People onot only secure to themselves the Fruit of their Success, but relist the flattering 'Temptations of it, and quell in them-'s selves all rising Provocations of Animo-6 fity and Revenge. After this, he enters into the Political Reasons for putting an End to the War, and afferts, That the long continuance of it might not be much less disagreeable to our Tempofral Interests, than to our Spiritual. That it was that in which the Care of our selves, but more especially of our near Neighbours, at first engag'd us: And by the Success God has been pleafed to give us, those who lately were DISTRESSED, are now again MIGHTY; and from being narrowly Straiten'd, are amply enlarg'd. That it was high time that we should have leave at last to think of our felves; and should re-' member. We too were a Nation depending upon Commerce, and that ought to look to our own Balance, and Merchant like, to consider in what End a 4 long ceasing of Profit and vast increase of Loss must necessarily determine; that we are an Island divided from the Continent, and not placed by Nature a Barrier between them; that our Wealth and our Strength is from the Sea, and that the Vessels that import our Riches must defend them; that it was Peace that was to restore us to our selves, and to. our true Situation, that should return our Ships and our Mariners to their ' right Use; and put us in a Capacity of Recovering, by the only proper Method.

thod, the Treasure we had so largely Vol. VI. wasted.' To this purpose the Bishop observes ' That the natural Courage of our People pulles them on to mingle ' in the Quarrels of our Neighbours, and ' foreign Conquests glittering in our An-' nals, make those glorious Days, appear to have been the Happy: But that as a ' painted Battle may be an agreeable En-' tertainment to the Eye, so the Reigns ' that are read with Delight, may have been lived in with Mifery. That those Aquifitions abroad, when made to our selves, are known to have been ruinous to our Country: That it was drained of Natives, to overcome Strangers; and vast Subsidies went out to purchase the less substantial Spoils of Trophies and Glory; and that the Issue generally was this, that the present Generation was impoverish'd by the foreign War, and the next harass'd with a Civil. That it may be enough to have given, in the Cause of the Continent, so am-' ple a Demonstration of our Good-Nature. Valour and Riches; to have en-' gag'd so heartily in it, to have fought ' so many glorious Battles, and bestow'd fo many Thousands of Lives, and Milfilions of Money upon it; that enough has been facrificed to those Confidera-' tions, and it was as fit we should give a 'Specimen of Domestick Prudence; and bew that our Courage, however natu-'ral to us as to some of our Animals, was yet under the Government of Rea-' son, and to pursue or retreat, as it 'should direct; That our Charity was not

The POLITICAL STATE Vol. VI. ont so indiscreet as wholly to exhaust our selves, and leave us without a Referve, for any yet nearer, and more urgent Occasion. That the common Burden, laid equally at first, and in some due Proportion, upon the several Shoulders of the United, had, in process of time, and by various Movements, fo 6 shifted its Situation, and came to press 6 so unequally, as to be the heavy Labour of the one, and the Exercise of others, one couching and bending under it, and ready to faint, while the other went vigorous and crect, with a Hand still 4 at Liberty for their wealthy Industry. ⁶ That the transfused Blood had ran so freely from the whole Body of the Kingdom, and by fo many open'd Veins, ' that tho' the Patient might not yet be fensible of the Loss, the Skilful had Reafon to apprehend a fatal Deliquium. 'That the only Confolation was, that our Enemies suffer'd more: But that henceforth we may compare our felves onot with the Miserable but the Happy; even with those that lived in that flou-'rishing opulent Condition, in which the late Wars found us; and which fome Lovers of War wou'd have us

forget, but the Sons of Peace may hope to regain. Having thus commended the Wisdom of our excelling Governess; and made his Court to her Ministers, he proceeds: 'That it is not to be wonder'd. if the Satisfaction on this happy Change be not yet entirely Universal; that fome, notwithstanding so many repea-' ted Disappointments, may have still en-

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fertain'd

' entertain'd vast impracticable Hopes. Vol. VI. 'That the War has been now so habi-' tuated to us, as to grow almost a Part of the Constitution; and like some Excrescencies of the Body, which have got their Veins and Ligaments, may not be taken off without some Complaint of the Parts adjoining; that as our 'Trade likewise long stopt in its great 'Channels, and diverted to others lefs beneficial, or detrimental to the Country, may, when it returns freely in its ' old and full Course, leave some not so fruitful or wastful Corners less plenteoully supplyed: But that these particu-'lar Inconveniencies, following upon Peace, are not to be imputed to that, but to the War. That these Complaints are what was to be expected, whenever the War should end; and would have ' grown more, and louder, the longer it ' had continued. That her Majesty, in ' her Wisdom and Goodness, having se-' cur'd our Walls from all Enemies without, what we have left to pray, in or-' der to the preserving of this Peace, and to the Reparation of our Lolles, and 'Restauration of our Plenty, is that all 'Domestick Contentions, and little Wars That this is the at home should cease. Peace that must be allow'd on all hands to be Necessary, Honourable, Beneficial and Safe, to agree with the Maxims both of Religion and worldly Piety; As on the contrary, nothing can be more opposite to the Spirit of Christianity, nor more destructive of Human Society, than Feuds and Animofi-

Vol. VI. 4 ties, when they divide and distract a Nation For adds he, even the Kingdom of Beelzebub, the first and great 'Author of Governing Men by Parties, if divided against it self, cannot stand: So little Hopes has any Human to continue, if it suffer it self to be divided by his Machinations. Such a Procee-' ding will be justly deliver'd up, by the Divine Vengeance, to its own Natural Consequences; the Calamities of a Ci-' vil War. And this is a State by all Hu-' man Caution to be avoided; and to be deprecated at the Throne of Grace, with the most earnest Supplications: as destructive to the Conversation of ' Men, as the Plague; and to their Cohabitation, as a Fire. May our Enemies if we are again to have any, fall, I should fay under that Curse; were it not unlawful for a Christian to wish it even to them. And may we rather be remanded to the Foreign War, from "which we are now deliver'd, I shou'd add: had it not gave Way and Increase to our Divisions; as if it had been training and exercifing of us, for another at Home. For to what other End could Changes of Government be perpetually rung in our Ears: and Men's Heads made Giddy by eternal Repetitions of 'Revolution? Why, under the most Legal, and Regular, and mildest Reign. actually enjoy'd, were our Imaginations to be filled with Odious Unlikely Suppositions; with the Possibility, of the utter Subversion of our Laws, and of Ab-folute Tyranny? Why, instead of the 6 Rules

Rules of Submission and Obedience, and ' Conservation of the Publick Quiet, are Cases ready put, of the Lawfulness of 'Relistance, and Duty of Rebellion? And instead of letting Sociableness be one of the Properties of human Nature, why is Mankind declar'd to be Wild and Savage, and originally in a State of War: and born to the Liberty of returning to it, upon any Disatisfaction as to their hereditary Right, by an unalienable indefeasible Title? In Politi-' cal Speculations a Civil War is the ut-" most groffest Absurdity: and the Notions that necessarily lead to it must be necessarily False; it is, of it self, the ' greatest Civil Evil; Destructive equally of all Interests, Sacred and Prophane, Landed or Monied (for Peace within our " Walls is the Fund of Funds, but if attended and assisted with Foreign Arms, an Assistance called naturally in both Sides, and as readily lent; it is then utter Desolation and Ruin. 'After this, he enforces the Necessity of the Prayer for the Quieting and ' ceasing of intestine Divisions, to the Safety, and even to the Being of our Country. For continues be, ' whereas for the Recovering. of Trade, long intermitted or diverted, to its right Channel, by which Wealth is to be reconvey'd, great Application and Diligence, and Industry are to be used, Feuds and Quarrels are known to imploy Men's Thoughts and Activity, on contrary Purposes. They are then most busie in opposing, undermining, overthrowing one another; and con-D 2 tending,

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tending, not who shall enrich, but who dispose of the Country; who shall be of the Governing Party, the Traders of fome Inland Company, that is to have the Monopoly of the Publick: In fuch Diffrutes, not only forgetting their Hoe nest Callings, but ready to change them for the Military; and contrarily to the Spirit of the Times under the Messiah, to beat their Plough-shares into Swords, and their Pruning-hooks into Spears. Little ' Plenty will be brought into that Hive, where the Bees, instead of Labouring in their Cells, or Flying abroad to gather, are rather intent upon Sharing the poor Remainder of the Stock; and upon using their Stings among them-' selves, which were given them against Drones or Robbers. A People Angry, and Quarrelsome, will make a very disagreeable uneasse Neighbourhood to the few, Quiet, Industrious, and Honourable Traffickers, that may be left amongst them. And these will love their Native Land very well, if they wish not the Wings of a Dove to fly away from it, tho' into a Wilderness; and to be at rest from the Stormy Wind and Tempest. But a Country under fuch Agitations and Disturbances can never promise it self to be a Mart for Nations; a Staple of Wealth and Plenty. As foon will a ' Merchant place his Magazine in a Soil ' liable to Earthquakes, and upon a Ground smoaking under his Feet, and continually threatning Eruptions. It is Venture enough to the fair Trader to be exposed to the Storms of the Sea, to

Rocks and Quick-fands there. The Vol. VI. ' Harbour he steers to, is a Place of Quiet and Safety; where he shall want no new Enfurances: And to fuch a one. he will again put out to Sea. * Considerations have peopled and en-' riched a Wife Nation; and made them 'a fure Refuge, from the Disquiet and 'Confusions of other Countries; and a ' Friendly, Advantagious Habitation for the Exercise of Honest Industry. that wondrous Increase they have attained, they owe to that Peace within their Walls; which they have had the 'Skill all along to maintain; and which ' no Force of the late War could invade, or Artifice disturb. A Nation I mention with Honour: not to be looked upon with a Malignant Eye, but obferv'd with a more Prudent Imitation. 'They shew, how Great a small State may grow by Concord: and may we never verifie that other part of the Sentence. 'as if left for our Motto, and be an Example, how much by Discord a Great one may Diminish. The Bishop observes in the next Place, That by mixing Fears and Apprehensions of the Future, with the present good Tydings, he may feem to have clouded the Day, and cast 'a Melancholy over the Thanksgiving: But that these well-meant Thoughts . concerning a future Contingency, He need not excuse by pleading, either that Thanks however are now justly due, to God and the Queen, for the great Blesfing, although we make not the right Use of it hereafter; or that this ungrateful

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grateful Prospect of the Evil may warn us to prevent it, and to secure and perpetuate the present loy. That he may, and shall rather chuse to say that this Forefight of a fad Possibility, may serve to redouble our Satisfaction, and heighten our Thanksgiving. For, says he in the Conclusion, this Day has something in it which greatly assures us against those Fears; and credibly promises the Re-establishment of our Tranquillity, and the Return of our Plenty. hearty Care of her Majesty for the pub-' lick Good, that large Wisdom and stea-'Ay Resolution, which have been blessed by the Almighty to procure us this Peace: May, we hope, by the same Di-' vine Assistance, restore to us Quiet at Home, and overcome all Oppositions ae gainst it. Those prudent, and gentle, and patient Methods, which have prevail'd upon Princes and States, and brought them to Concord, cannot fure fail of winning upon her Subjects, to lay down their Differences at her Feet, and submit them to her Laws and her ' just Arbitration. And the great Affair of Reconciliation, which has been fo dexterously managed Abroad, and at Distance by her transmitted Orders, will be more effectually transacted at ' Home, under her Eye, and by her im-' mediate Conduct.

Notwithstanding the Disappointment in the Queen's not going to St. Paul's the the Crouds of Speciators as well in the Houses as Streets, through which both Houses of Parliament, Judges, and great Officers

Officers of State, pass'd in their Way to Vol. VI. that Cathedral, were prodigiously great, and, as it generally happens on such Occasions, made the best Part of the Shew. But what was most extraordinary and Part of the most remarkable in this Solemnity, was Shew, viz. the Sight of about Four Thousand Chari- 4000 Charity ty Children, of both Sexes new Cloath-in the Strand. ed, whom the Trustees of the several Charity-Schools in and about London and Wesminster caus'd to be placed, in the expected View of her Majesty, upon a Machine that was in length above 600 Foot, from near Exeter-Change towards the May-Pole in the Strand, and had in Breath eight Ranges of Seats above one another. During the whole Procession. which lasted near three Hours, these Children fung and repeated Hymns of Prayer and Praise to God for her Majcsty, to the Admiration and Satisfaction of all the Beholders. In the Afternoon the great Guns in the Tower and in St. James's Park were fired; and in the Evening besides the general Illuminations and Illuminations, feveral Bonefires, which made the City Bonfires, and Freeworks. and the Suburbs appear to be all in a Flame, there were Fireworks play'd off both in Smithfield and on the Thames over-again ft Whitehall. The first, which were prepared at the Expence of the City of London, began a quarter past Nine, and lasted till a little after Ten, when those on the Description of River began, and lasted till a quarter past on the Thames Eleven. The Machine and other artificial Works of this last Fire, were placed on a Theater about 400 Foot long built on Barges chain'd together, in the middle of which, fronting towards Whitehall,

was

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was raised a kind of triumphal Arch. confifting of four Pillars wreathed with Laurel. In the middle of the Arch were the two Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew; and over them the Queen's Cypher encircled with Lawrel, with an Imperial Crown over it, and beneath it a Label with the Queen's Motto. Semper Eadem; and over the whole, two Angels descending from the Sky, and holding a Grown of Lawrel in one Hand; and in the other, the one a Branch of Palm, the other a Trumpet. On the Frizes of the Arch were these Words. Anno Pacis, and in the Pedestals, Julia VII. LONDINI MDCCXIII. the two Pillars on the right Side, was a Figure representing Victory; and on the same side of the Arch, stood on a Pedestal, Hercules with his Club on his right Shoulder, representing Courage. On the left Side of the Arch; and in the same Situation stood two other Figures, the one representing Peace, holding an Olive Branch in her right Hand; the other representing Minerva, with her Agis or Shield in her left Hand, and a Wand with a Serpent in the other, denoting Conduct. Over the Entablature of the right Side of the Arch, was a Globe and two Figures representing Prudence and Temperance, and over the left Side another Globe, and the other two Cardinal Vertues, viz. Fortitude and Justice. Frontispiece was 52 Foot high, and 64 long; there were on each fide of it, feveral Rocket Chests, with the Queen's Cypher and a Crown over it; and the hinder

hinder part of the Theater, fronting to- Vol. VI. wards Southwark was fill'd with Sky-Rockets. The Order for the firing was thus : Order of firing. First, a slanting Rocket from the Shore, for a Signal to fire 21 Cannon, then 3 Rockets for a Signal to fire the Machine, or Arch, which being on fire made a wonderful Estect. After this were fired two Rocket Chests, each containing 26 Rockets; then 6 Balloons in the Air; and then follow'd the Water-works and fingle Rockets, as fait as was possible to fire, and every four Minutes two Rocket-Chests with 6 Balloons, till the whole was confumed. In the whole Fire-work there were 100 Balloons of 7 Inch Mortars, 2300 Sky-Rockets from 6 to 2 Pounders; 1500 great and small Water-Rockets: 4 large Water Pyramids; 4 Water Fountains; 13 Pumps; 21 standing Rockets, with Lights all swimming on the Water; 84 large and small Bees-swarms, half of which were fet with Lights to swim on . the Water. All the Balloons and Rockets were composed of different sorts of Fire, as Stars, Reports, Gold and Silver Rainfire, Squibbs, &c. the whole being perform'd by the Direction of Colonel Hopkey, and Colonel Beauregard, or Borgard, by Order of the Office of Ordnance. This Fire work, and that in Smithfield, were play'd off with such Regularity, that there was not the least Mischief done, in either Place. We may here observe, that the Court of Great Britain was, for some time, in suspence whether or no they should cause Fire-works to be made on the Thanksgiving Day for the late Peace:

Vol. VI. But assoon as they were inform'd that both the States General and the States of Holland, had order'd two Fire-works to be prepared to be play'd off at the Hague on the 14th of June, N. S. for the same Occasion, it was thought fit to imitate their Example; and for that Reason, the Thanksgiving Day was, by Proclamation, put off from the 16th of June to the 7th of July. However it must be acknowledg'd, that the Fireworks made in London came far short of those at the Haque, as appears by the following Description:

Description of a . pthe Fireworks perform'd at. the Hague.

THE Machines and other Artificial
Works of these two Fires were upon two large Theatres, erected upon Piles in the Pond or Vyver, one over against the Apartment where the States General and the Council of State usually

e meet, and the other against the Great

Hall where the States of Holland and West ' Friezland hold their Affemblies. 'The Theatre erected by Order of the States General was 160 Foot long and 6 90 broad, supporting several Machines and Works, one of which that was in the Center of that Theater, was 50 Foot high. The Principal Decoration that was feen on the side of the Court. ' and the opposite Face, was a double Amphitheatre, having in the middle a Triumphal Arch, which was very stateby, as well upon account of 4 large

Portico's that form'd the same, as by 4 Pictures finely illuminated, which made the chief Ornament thereof on the four Vol.

· Faces of it.

In the large Picture on the lide facing the Apartments of their High Mightinelles, were represented Peace and Plenty, Haml in Hand, and under them "Cybele the Goddels of the Barth, or the Earth it self attended with little Cupids, who presented her Fruits of the feveral Seafons of the Year. The Pidure on the second Face of the Triumphal Arch opposite to the former, represented the Goddess Ceres upon Clouds, with little Cupids spreading Seeds upon Lands newly grubbed up, and there were likewise represented Husbandmen ploughing and cultivating the same.

In the third Picture of the Arch facing the East, were represented the Triumphs of Peace by the Nine Muses, placed in a Circular Order, with all their different Attributes, and Apollo placed above them, receiving the Congratulations of Polyhymnia thereupon.

In the Picture on the fourth Face of the Triumphal Arch on the West side, was seen Neprume placed on a kind of a Sea Throne, or Chariot drawn by 4 Sea Hories, and commanding the Tritons represented before him, to lay on the Shore the Riches and Treasures of the Sea, which were seen under various Emblems.

There were Niches on the sides of these large Pictures, wherein the 4 Parts of the World were very ingeniously represented by large Statues of white E. 2 Marble

Vol. VI. s painted in different Colours from the Boxes, which made a most fine Prospect. being redoubled feveral times, while they fired the Rockets round about the e 3 Galleries or Balconies, which closed the Extremities of the Theatre on eevery fide, the Banisters being neatly

painted and coloured. These Artificial Fires succeeded to Admiration, and the best Pyrotechnians, or ablest Artists never perform'd a Work of this Nature to the greater Satisfaction of the Spectators, and more fuitable to the End intended on such Occasions, which is to fill the Air with · feveral Fires agreeable to the Sight, and different in their Kinds, and carry op towards Heaven Inflam'd Machines as far as Eyes can reach, which produce, the one Torrents of Light as Blasing Stars, others a Fire as bright as that of Stars, and others Lightning, 4 attended with a Noise not much unlike Fhunder, and resembling the Discharges of the Artillery and Muskets that are made in Camps, upon general Salvo's

repeated feveral times. Several ingenious Inscriptions and 4 Motto's fuitable to the Representations were prepared for these Works, but it

was found, that the Figures and other ^c Representations were fo intelligible,

that there was no need of any such Infictiptions; but the Fireworks prepar'd

by Order of the States of Holland, being

in a different Gusto, there were Devices and Inscriptions made use of.

These Machines and the whole Order for July, 1717.

der of those Fireworks were invented Vol. VI. by Mr. Daniel Marot, Architect to his

late Majesty William III. King of Great Britain. who had also the Direction thereof, and had the Satisfaction and Honour

to be approv'd by their High Mightinesses.

'[The Description of the Fireworks ' made by Order of the States of Holland and West Freezland, being too long is o-

'mitted in this Place.

Let us conclude the Proceedings in Par- Proceedings in liament: On the 8th of July the Commons Parliament. read the third time the consolidated Bill to raise 1200000 l. and 500000 l. &c. made some Amendments to it, pass'd it, and sent it up to the Lords. After this they took into Consideration, the Report of the Committee to whom the Bill for encouraging the Tobacco Trade was committed; and a Debate arising upon a Clause relating to damaged Tobacco, the same was adjourn'd to the next * Day, when feveral new Amendments were made by the House to the Bill, which, so amended, was order'd to be engross'd. On the 10th the Commons read the 3d time, pass'd, and fent to the Lords, a Bill for the Building 4 Church in the Strand, Oc. and a Bill for making perpetual the Act to prevent falls and double Returns of Members to serve in Parliament: After which they read twice Refolutions in and approved the Resolutions of the Com-favour of Mr. mittee to whom the Petition of William Paterson Esq; was referr'd, viz.

1. That the Petitioner William Paterson Esq; hath been at great Expence and Pains, and sustain'd very considera-

* July 9th.

ble

40

Vol. VI. 6 ble Losses in the Service of the late " African and Indian Company of Scotland,

and ought to be reimburfed, and have a Recompence for the same. 2. That

the Sum of Eighteen Thousand Two

4 Hundred Forty One Pounds, Ten Shil-4 lings and Ten-Pence, two Thirds of a

Peny, ought to be answered and made

e good to the Petitioner.

* July lirth The Bill to en-COUTAGE tht C Tobacco Trade sent up to the Lerds.

The next * Day, an engross'd 'Bill for encouraging the Tobacco Trade, and for Ease of Merchants, as to Wine Bonds and Tobacco Bonds; and for dilposing of Goods lying long in her Ma-

iesty's Warehouses for the Duties, and for explaining a former Act as to a Duty of 15 per Cent. on certain Linnens, and

for allowing the making of Quarter Pieces of Linnen in Scotland, and for dif-

charging the Lustring Company from

Sealing Lustrings and Alamodes to be made in Great Britain, and for continu-

ing the Deputations of Custom House ' Officers, notwithstanding the Death or

'Removal of any Commissioners of the

' Customs, and for Relief of Sir John Lambert and others, in relation to the Du-

ties of certain Wines taken as Prizes

and for berter enabling the Bank of En-

egland to lend Money on Stock of the South Sea Company, and for the more

effectual Taking, Stating, and Deter-

mining feveral Accounts relating to the Forces and Marines, was read the third Time; amended by the House; pass'd;

and fent up to the Lords, which their Rejelled by Lordships read the first Time, on Monday sbeir Lordships the 13th of July, and rejected the same,

by

by Reason of the several Clauses of dif- Vol. VI. ferent Nature, with which it was intri-* July 13th cated and clogg'd. The fame * Day the Commons read a fecond Time an engross'd Bill from the Lords entituled. an Alt to prevent the too frequent Denunciation of Excommunication in the Exercise of Bill to prevent Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and having com-too frequent Excommunimitted it to the Committee of the whole cations. House, order'd that the said Committee have Power to receive two Clauses, one' to prevent Extortion in the taking of Fees for Proceedings in the Ecclesiasti-'cal Courts; the other for the better ' Qualifying Ecclesiastical Judges.' On the 14th the House resolv'd it self into that Committee, and made several Amendments to the Bill; which were the next * Day reported, and agreed to by the * July 15th House; after which the Bill was read The Bill stops the third time, pass'd, and sent back to the in the Lords Lords, where it stopt either for want of House. Time, or for some other Reason. On the 14th the Commons resolv'd to address the Queen ' That she would be pleased to direct a new Survey to be made of such of the Lands and Tenements as are necessary for the Fortifications at Ports- Address about mouth, Chatham and Harwich that are Lands for the now in being, or for the Service of the Fortifications Navy, or for the Victualling thereof, of Portsmouth that they may be paid for; and also to 'enquire what Damages have been suffered by the Owners of other Lands that are not so necessary for the said Uses and Services, that Satisfaction may be made for the same; and that her Majesty would be pleased to direct her

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Commissioners'to proceed in the Execution of their Commission for the Purposes aforesaid. It was also resolv'd, upon Mr. Pstes's Motion, 'That an humble

Address be presented to her Majesty.

'That She will be pleased to Issue her

6 Royal Proclamation, requiring a due

and strict Execution of the Laws against

on of Wool.

And against Exportation of Wool from Great Brithe Exportati- tain and Ireland to Foreign Parts; and

humbly to defire her Majesty, That She

will be pleased to give such Reward as ' her Majesty in her Wisdom shall think

fit to fuch Persons as shall discover any

• Exportation thereof: With the first of which Address her Majesty readily complv'd. On the 16th of July the Queen went to the House of Peers, with the usual State; and the Commons being fent for up, and attending, their Speaker made a Speech to her Majesty, upon the presenting of the Money Bills; after which her Majesty gave the Royal Assent to the fol-

Alls pass'd, lowing publick Bills, viż. July 16.

1. An Act to raise Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds for Publick Uses, by circulating a farther Sum in Exchequer Bills, and for enabling Her Majesty to raise Five Hundred Thousand Pounds on the Revenues appointed for Uses of Her Civil Government, to be applied for or towards Payment of such Debts and Arrears owing to Her Servants, Tradesmen, and others, as are therein mentioned.

2. An Act to enable such Officers and Soldiers as have been in her Majesty's Service during the late War, to exercise Trades, and for Officers to account with their Soldiers.

3. An Act for explaining the Acts for Vol. VI. Licencing Hackney Chairs.

4. An Alt for the better Encouragement of the making Sail Cloath in Great Britain.

5. An Act for making perpetual an Act made in the Seventh Tear of the Reign of the late King William, entituled, An Act to prevent False and Double Returns of Members to serve in Parliament.

6. An All for making perpetual the Alt made in the thirteenth and fourteenth Years of the Reign of the late King Charles the Secand, entituled, An Act for the better Relief of the Poor of this Kingdom; And that Persons bound Apprentices to, or being bired Servants with Persons coming with Certificates, shall not gain Settlements by such Services or Apprentiships; And for making perpetual the All made in the Sixth Year of Her present Majesty's Reign, entituled, An Act for the Importation of Cochineal from any Ports in Spain during the present War, and fix Months longer; And for reviving a Clause in an Alt made in the ninth and tenth Tears of the Reign of the late King William, entituled, An Act for setling the Trade to Africa, for allowing Foreign Copper Bars imported to be exported.

7. An Act to vest in the Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches in and about London and Westminster, and Suburbs thereof, as much of the Street near the May Pole in the Strand in the County of Middlesex, as shall be sufficient to build one of the said Churches upon; And for restoring to the Principal and Scholars of King's Hall and College of Brazen Nose in the University of Okon, their Right of Presentations to F2

Vol. VI. Churches and Chapels in Stepney Parish. And to fix private Bills.

After this the Queen was pleased to make the following Speech to both Houses:

The Queen's Speech to both Honses of Parliament. My Lords and Gentlemen,

Come now to put an End to this Session with great Satisfaction, and return you all my hearty Thanks for the good Service you have done to the Publick.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

I must particularly thank you for the Supplies you have now given; I will take Care to apply them, as far as they will reach, to satisfy the Services you have voted.

I hope, at the next Meeting, the Affair of Commerce will be so well understood, that the advantageous Conditions I have obtained from France, will be made effectual for the Benesit

of our Trade.

I cannot part with so Good and so Loyal a House of Commons, without expressing how sensible I am of the Affection, Zeal, and Duty, with which you have behaved your selves; and I think my self the efore obliged to take Notice of those remarkable Services you have perform'd.

At your first Meeting you found a Method, without farther Charge to my People, to ease them of the heavy Load of more than Nine Millions; and the Way of doing it may bring

great. Advantage to the Nation:

In this Session you have enabled Me to be just in paying the Debts to my Servants.

And as you furnished Supplies for carrying on the War, so you have strengthened My Hands in obtaining a Peace.

Thus

Thus you have showed your selves the true Vol. VI. Representatives of my Loyal Commons, by the just Regard you have paid to the Good of your Country, and my Honour: These Proceedings will, I doubt not, preserve the Memory of this Parliament to Posterity.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

At my Coming to the Crown I found a War prepared for me. God has bleffed my Arms with many Victories, and at last has enabled Me to make them usefal by a Sase and Honourable Peace.

I heartily thank you for the Assistance you have given Me therein, and I promise My self, that with your Concurrence, it will be lasting.

To this End I recommend it to you all, to make My Subjects truly sensible what they gain by the Peace, and that you will endeavour to dissipate those groundless Jealousies which have been so industriously fomented amongst us, that our unhappy Divisions may not weaken, and in some sort endanger, the Advantages I have obtained for my Kingdoms.

There are some (very sew, I hope) who will never be satisfied with ANY Government; it is necessary therefore, that YOU SHEW your Love to your Country, by exerting your selves, to obviate the Malice of the Ill-minded, and to undeceive the Deluded.

Nothing can establish Peace at Home, nething can recover the Disorders that have happened during so long a War, but a steady adhering to the Constitution in Church and State.

Such

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Such as are true to these Principles are only to be relyed on; and as they have the hest Title to My Favour, so you may depend upon My having no Interest ner Aim, but your Advantage, and the securing of our Religion and Liberry.

I hope, for the Quiet of these Nations, and the universal Good, that I shall, next Winter, most My Parliament, resolved to all upon the same Principles, with the same Prudence, and with such Vigour, as may enable Me to support the Liberties of Europe Abroad, and reduce the Spirit of Fastion at Home.

The Parlia- And afterwards the Lord High Chanment prorogu'd cellor of Great Britain by Her Majesty's Command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

T is Her Majesty's Royal Will and Pleafure, That this Parliament be prorogued to Fryday the 28th Day of August next; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Friday the 28th Day of August next. Thus ended the third and last Session

of the third British Parliament, which fome have distinguish'd by the Epithet of PACIFICK; and whose Proceedings, as on this Parliament.

PACIFICK; and whose Proceedings, as they are variously censured by the present.

Character with Posterity. It may be observ'd, in general, that tho' this House of Commons was mostly made up of Country-Gentlemen, who having born a great Part of the Burden of the War, were easily preposses'd against them, who were suggested to have prolong'd it for

their private Interest; and so, on many

Occasions, voted blindly with their Leaders;

ders: Yet when the TRADE, that is, the Vol. VI. main Source of the Riches and Strength of Great Brivain, came to fall under their Confideration, many worthy Patriots open'd their Eyes, shook off all mean Dependance, and firmly adhered to the Interest of their Country. To this purpose I hall here repeat and relify what was related in our last Monthly * Collection. Mr. * Polis. State

Torrismo, who spoke in behalf of the for june 1713 Spanish Trade, having animadverted on pag. 416. the whole 8th and 9th Articles of the Amemorable Treaty of Commerce, and mentioned H. of Comthe the 10 and 11th as relating to the two mons religied

former, some Court Members were of and enlarged.

fended at it; and after he had done fpeaking, Mr. B- moved the Committee that some Mark of their Displea-

fare might be fet on him. But General Stanhope, Mr. Lethmere, Sit Peter King,

and Mr. (John) Smith, faid, That un-· lefs they gave the Merchants full Liber-

ty of Speech, the House would never be ' able to form a right Judgment on that

' important Affair; And particularly they 'hoped, that no Man should be repri-

' manded for standing up for the Trade of Great Brivain. This together with a

noble Spirit that appear'd in the House

on behalf of the Merchants, by the great number of Members, both Tory

and Whigh, that all at once stood up to

defend Mr. Torrismo, made the Courtiers drop that Matter; and so Mr. Wyur

' spoke for the Italian Merchants; Mr.

Milner for the Portugal Trade, and Colonel Lekens for the Weavers.' This

fingle Instance news the Excellence of

our

Vol. VI. our Constitution; and that 'twill hardly ever be in the Power of any Set of Men to induce the Commons of Great Britain to betray the Interest of their Country. I am not ignorant that many ascribe the Defection of several Tory Members from the Court-Party to other Motives and Views, but these being only Conjectures and Surmizes, the Reader is at Liberty to lay what stress he thinks fit upon them.

The Dube d' Aumont Ambassador from France makes bis publick Entry.

To proceed to other Matters: On the first Day of July the Duke d' Aumont, Amballador Extraordinary from the most Christian King, made his publick Entry. He was received at Greenwich by the Earl of Scarsdale, and Sir Clement Cotterell. Master of the Ceremonies, accompanied by fix Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. From thence he was brought by Water, together with all his Train, in her Majesty's Barges to the Tower. At his Landing he was met and complimented by the Earl of Northampton, Constable of the Tower, and the Guard being drawn out upon the Wharf, saluted his Excellency as he passed by. The Royal Standard was display'd upon this Occasion, and the Guns were fir'd as he went away. From thence he proceeded to Somerset-house, in the following manner. The Earl of Scarfdale's Coach, thirty of the Ambassador's Footmen walking two by two: Four Swisses, Twelve Pages, two Gentlemen of the Horse, two Governors of the Pages, all mounted on Horseback. Then came the Queen's Coach of State, in which were the Ambassador, the Earl of Scarfdale.

dale, the Master of the Ceremonies, and Vol. VI. the Abbe Nadal, Secretary of the Embasfy. This was fallow'd by another of the Queen's Coaches, in which were the fix Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Afterwards came five of his Excellency's Coaches drawn by eight Horses each, with four others drawn by fix, which were follow'd by a numerous Train Coaches of the Ministers of State, Nobility and Gentry, with fix Horses each. When they arrived at Somerset-house, which was the Place appointed by her Majesty for his Entertainment, the Earl of Scarfdale put him into Possession of the House, and took his leave; after which, the Lord Windfor came and made him a Compliment in her Majesty's Name. The Ambassador's Liveries were extraordinary magnificent, being of scarlet Cloth, cover'd with a Gold and Green Lace; and all his Excellencies Pages, Footmen, Coachmen, and Swiffers had white Feathers in their Hats. The Streets and Houses were very much crowded throughout the City on this Occasion; and his Excellency threw Handfuls of Money among the People all along the Streets.

. The Duke d'Aumont was for three Days magnificently entertain'd at the Queen's Expence, and on Saturday the 4th of July, the Day appointed by the Queen for his Publick Audience, the Earl of Salisbury, and Sir Clement Cotterel, Master of the Ceremonies, with fix Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, brought him from Somerset bouse, to St. James's in her Majesty's Coach, first publick follow'd by the Ambassador's Coaches, in Audience July

the 4th.

The POLITICAL STATE

Vol. VI. the fame Order as was observed at his. Entry. His Excellency was receiv'd at the Palace-Gate by Sir Philip Meadows Knight Marshal. Her Majesty's Foot Guards were drawn up in the Court, and the Officers faluted his Excellency with Pike and Colours, and aftewards with their Hats as he pass'd by, the Drums beating a Call. He was receiv'd at the Door of the Guard-Chamber by the Lord Paget, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard and conducted by him to the End of his Command. After which he was received yy the Duke of Beaufort Captain of the Band of Pensioners, who were ranged on each fide of the Room, and conducted by him in the same manner to the Door of the Room of Audience, where he was met by Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, in the Ab. sence of the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Houshold, and having proach'd the Queen, his Excellency made the following Compliment to her Majesty:

MADAM,

50

His Complice His Moment is very glorious for ment to the me: Since in the happiest and ducen.

brightest Conjuncture I have the Honour

to give your Majesty, on the Part of the King my Master, publick Assurances of

all the Sentiments that engage him to

Your Sacred Person.

The Events of a long and dreadful War have not in the least lessen d the

Amity which the Ties of Blood instill'd

in him, nor that high Consideration which is due to Personal Qualities, still

more

for July, 1713.

more respectable than the Majesty of Vol. VI. 'Titles, and all the Power of a Throne.

'These Sentiments, Madam, have been reciprocal; and the good Correspondence they have form'd between the ' two Crowns has baffled the Projects of

'Parties; disarm'd the Nations of the

' Earth; given new Kings to Europe; and

'fixed, if I dare say it, even Your Ma-

' jesty's Glory.

By Conditions of which you have been the Arbiter, Your Majesty procures the Happiness of Your Subjects, the Advantage of Your Allies, and at the same Time, crowns the great and memorable Events of your Reign, not to be parallel'd in History, and even New in the Throne on which Queen

Elizabeth sat.

France, tho acustom'd to find Glory and Resources in her Missortunes, bless Your Majewill nevertheless 's fty's Counsels: She has receiv'd with bively Acclamations the Tidings of a and Good Peace whose Moderation Faith, practifed with Emulation on both Sides, have broken through all Difficulties and removed all Obstacles. These Virtues, so rare, and so foreign to Treaties, have been reciprocal in the Course of the late Negotiation, and are become the Earnest and Foundation of a Firm and lasting Union. which deposites in Your Majesty's Hands, and those of the King my Master, the Ballance of all the Powers of Eurape.

It is to be observed, that her Majesty Some Particu-did not rise from her Chair, as usual, by to this Audi-G 2 Reason ence.

Vol. VI. Reason of her Indisposition, as the Ambassador was given to understand, by way of Excuse; And that his Excellency out of Respect to the Sex, did not put on his Hat in her Majesty's Presence, tho' desir'd to do it by her Majesty. The Audience being over, his Excellency was re-conducted in the same manner to Somerset-house, by the Earl of Salisbury, the Master of the Ceremonies, and the Gentlemen of the Privv-Chamber.

About this time Monsieur Tugghe, Deputy from the Magistrates of Dunkirk presented to the Queen an Address or Memorial, wherein he begg'd her Majesty's Clemency for sparing the Harbour and Port of that Town, to which the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, return'd

the following Answer.

The Queen has read with Attention the Address you have presented to Her The Lord. in the Name of the Magistrates of the Bolingbrok's Town of Dunkirk, and She has com-Answer toMr. Tugghe's Memanded me to tell you, that she beheld morial for the c with Sorrow the Damages which the Preservation Inhabltants of that Town will sustain of the Harbour by the Demolition of its Ramparts and of Dunkirk. Harbour; But that She did not think it convenient to make any Alteration in s a thing agreed on and determin'd by a · Treaty.

> Hereupon Monsieur Tugghe presented a Second Address or Memorial to her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, to the Effect following.

> > MADAM

MADAM.

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THE Sieur Tugghe Deputy of the Mato implore your Clemency in relation to the second Memointended Demolition of the Fortifications and rial. Bort of the said Town, had entertain'd Hopes that by the most humble Representations he had presum'd to make, touching the extream Misery to which the said Demolition will reduce Eighteen Thousand Families that make up that City, your Majesty's Mercy might have been moved, and that according to his most respectful Request, he might have obtain'd the Preservation at least of the Mole or Dykes of that Port. But he was as it were Thunder-struck by the Denunciation which my Lord Viscount Bolingbroke made to him, That your Majesty did not think fit to make any Alteration in the dreadful Sentence you have pronoune'd against that Town, and that 'tis your Majesty's Pleasure that Sentence should be executed in its full Extent. Tho' stunn'd by this Blow the Sieur Tugghe yet presumes to approach once more your Majesty's awful Throne, being thereto encouraged by the Benefits your Majesty's Clemency pours down on all the Nations of the Earth: And with trembling to represent to your Majesty, that he does not demand that the Works that may serve either for the At-tack or Desence of Dunkirk be preserved, either on the Land side, or towards the Sea. The unfortunate Inhabitants of Dunkirk are no longer concern'd for those magnificent Works, that strike Terror on all the Boholders. The Magistrates only beg the Preservation of the Mole and Dikes that form and keep up the Harbour, thereby to preserve to their Peo-

The POLITICAL STATE

Vol. VI. ple only their necessary Subsistence, by enabling them to carry on their Herring Fishing, and some other small Trade along the Coast.

Your Majesty endued with native Clemency and Christian Charity, of which all Nations feel the benign Insluence, desires not to return Evil for Evil; nor does your Majesty admit it in your Resolutions any farther than it is indispensably necessary according to Political Views, and agreeably to the Welfare of your own Subjects. The Sieur Tugghe will presume to observe to your Majesty that the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk, in the naked Condition it has been represented, will neither be inconsistent either with the Political Views of Great Britain, or the Welfare and Good of the British Subjects, but rather bene-

ficial to both.

Dunkirk has had the Misfortune to become the Object of Great Britain's Indignation either by the Sea Armaments the King made there, and which during the late Wars may have disturb'd the Tranquility of your Majefy's Kingdoms, and retard the Execution of your Majesty's Projects; or by the Privateering of its Inhabitants which has often annoy'd and molested the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects. But in the Condition to which your Petitioner begs its Harbour to be reduc'd, that is divested of all its Works and Fortifications, and its Mole and Dykes only preserved, it will never be able, whatever War (which God avert) may happen for the future, either to form any Obliacle to your Majesty's Projects, or to disturb the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects: since in such a Condition it will be an open Town, both on the Land und Sea-side, abandon'd to the first Invader, detenceless finceless for whomsoever shall possess it, and Vol. VI. which dry Enemy may enter by Sea and by Land, in order to burn both the Ships that might be sisting out there, and even the Town and Harbour. Thus in such a Condition Dunakirk meither will nor ever can be opposite either to your Majesty's Political Views, or to the Welfare of your Majesty's Subjetts.

The Proferousion of the Harbour of Don-kirk, without Works and Foreifications, may, in time, be equally useful, and become even absolutely necessary, both for your Majesty's Political Views, and the Good of your Subjects.

Tour Majesty's Politicat Views, chiefly in Times of Prace, center all in the Increase of the Commerce of your Majesty's Subjects, and at the same time the Welfare and Interest of your Subjects lie in the Improvement of their Trade. Therefore by proving that the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk will be not only advantageous, but also necessary for the Commerce of the Subjects of Great Britain, your Petitioner hopes he shall prove all that's contain'd in his second Proposition.

First, Dunkirk is become the Object of the Jealousy of the Dutch, and the Dutch have wish'd for its Destruction upon no other View, but to assume to themselves alone all the Commerce of the Austrian Low-Countries, and of all Germany, being apprehensive that other Nutions might share those two Branches of Trade with them, in case the Harbour of that Town were preserved, because it is the only Harbour on the Coast from Ostend West ward, by which Commodities from soreign Countries may be brought into those Provinces, which they design to surround, as it were with a Wall of Brass, in order to secure to themselves

Vol. VI. all the Trade thereof by the Scheld, the Lys, and the Rhine. And as it highly concerns Great Britain not to be excluded from those two Branches of Trade, so it very much concerns Great Britain to preserve the Harbour of Dunkirk, by which means alone Great Britain can maintain its Commerce in the

Said Provinces.

Secondly, Supposing that your Majesty's Subjects might, in Spite of the Designs of the Dutch, carry on their Trade in the Austrian Netherlands, by the Harbours of Ostend and Newport, yet they will not be able to hold it long in Competition with the Hollanders, both by Reason of the Conveniency and less Expence, which the latter will find in carrying on their Commerce by the Scheld and the Lys, and of the round-about-way the other will be obliged to go. Whereas by preserving the Harbour of Dunkirk, the English would have that Way Conveniencies almost equal to those the Dutch have; especially if your Majesty would, as you easily may, obtain a Passage Custom free for all Commodities from England, from Dunkirk to the Austrian Low-Countries, by the way of Liste and Douay.

Thirdly, If according to your Majesty's Resolution the Harbour of Dunkirk be sill'd up, your Majesty's Subjects will thereby be excluded not only from the Trade of the Ausstrian Netherlands, but also from that of French Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and Part of Picardy, because they will have no other Harbour on all that Coast, to import their Commodities into those four Provinces, that of Calais being unserviceable to that Commerce.

Fourthly, If the Demolition of the Harborn

bour of Dunkitk should not discourage your Vol. VI. Majesty's Subjects from the Trade of French Flanders, Hamault, Artois, and Part of Picardy, and they should endeavour to supply it by the Harbour of Oftend and New port. they will however undergo infinite Inconveniencies to carry on that Trade, and thereby tender their Commodities unmarketable by reason of the Expence of Carriage that will be treble, and by the treble Customs and Duties they must pay, viz. to the House of Austria. upon their Entrance into those Harbours, to the Dutch in their Passage through Furnes, Ipres, Menin, and other Towns in their Posfession, and to the King on their Entrance into his Dominions: Whereas by Entring those Four Provinces by the way of Dunkirk their Expense for Carriage will be small, by Realon of the Conveniency of Canals, and they stall only pay the single Duty of Importation to the King.

Fifthly, By the Treaty of Commerce concluded between your Majesty and his most Christian Majesty the Tariff of 1671, has been preserv'd in the Conquered Countries. This Tariff is far more favourable than that of 1664, which is to be observed in all the other Harbours on the Western Coast of France, and consequently the Commerce of your, Majesty's Subjests is very much concern'd in the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk, since that Harbour will make them enjoy the Benefit of that Tariff for all the Commodities they hall import there for the Consumption of the Provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, whereas if the same Merchandizes be imported by other Harbours, they must pay the Duties according to the Tariff of 1664.

Sixthly,

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Sixthly, To confirm to your Majesty how advantageous the Harbour of Dunkirk is to the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects, the Sieur Tugghe has the Honour to present to your Majesty a List of Two Hundred Eighteen English Ships which from the 15th of August 1712 to the 123th of May 1713, have come into that Harbour, and unladen their Cargoes there to the Value of above Two Millions of French Livres; and at the same time he desires your Majesty to observe; first, that France being, during those nine Months, in War with Holland, those Commodities could not be carried into the Austrian Provinces posses'd by the Dutch, and must have been vended and consumed only in the French Provinces of Flanders. Hainault and Artois; and that in time of Peace the faid Consumption, and consequently the Trade of England there, will very much encrease. Secondly, That as the Dunkirkers could not furnish in return or Exchange for the Commodities imported there, during those nine Months, either any Manufactures or Commodities of their own Growth, because they have none, they were obliged to pay the whole Value of the same in Money, and must ever pay for them in the same manner, which is a most considerable Advantage in all sorts of Traffick.

Seventhly, As it is not impossible that in Process of Time there may happen some Rupture between Great Britain and Holland, so Great Britain, in such a Conjuncture, which God avert, will find it self entirely deprived of the Trade to French Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and Part of Picardy, since at such a time it will not be in the Power of your Majessy's Subjects to carry on the said Trade by

the Harbours of Ostend or Newport, not even under all the Inconveniencies and Expences to which those two Harbours do naturally subject them; because their Commodities could not from those two Harbours be carried into the French Provinces, but by going through Places posses'd by the Dutch, who in all likelyhood would not give them free Passage. Thus, in such a Conjuncture at least, the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkirk would be necessary for the Trade of your Majesty's Subjects.

Eighthly, The Freedom of the Port and Town of Dunkirk, in case your Majesty will wouchsafe to alter the severe Resolution you have taken against its Mole and Dikes, will enable your Majesty's Subjects to carry on their Commerce with more Conveniency than any other Nation, in the Austrian Provinces of Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant; in the French Provinces of Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and Picardy; and even in Germany by the Staples and Storehouses they may erect there, and which will facilitate their answering the Demands of Commodities from all those respective Countries punctually, and at proper Times and Seasons.

Ninthly, Supposing that the Opposition which the viiith and ixth Articles of the Treaty of Commerce concluded by your Majesty with France has met with in the House of Commons of your Parliament should take Place, and destroy the Arguments above alledged in savour of the British Trade by the way of Dunkirk into the French Provinces; yet the Reasons relating to the said Commerce by the way of Dunkirk, into the Austrian Low Countries and into Germany, by means of a H 2

Vol. VI. free Passage, without paying any Castem or Duties, would still subsist, and may suffice. to let your Majesty see, that the Preservation of that Harbour, with its bare Mole and Dikes, despoil'd of all manner of Fortifications, will not only be most beneficial and advantageous, but even absolutely necessary to the Trade of Great Britain.

Tenthly, All such as have any tolerable Skill in Navigation know that Ships that are at Sea can never have too many Places of Retreat, either to helter themselves against Storms when they happen to fall into them, or to repair their Losses, and resit after they have sustain'd ill Weather. The Harbour of Dunkirk is one of those desireable Retreats for Ships that sail to or come home from the North Seas. And altho' the Coast of England affords many Places for Ships to put into, it may nevertheless happen oftentimes after the Demolition of the Mole and Dikes for which the Magistrates of Dunkirk beg your Majesty's Mercy, that the Ships of your Subjects may be so distress'd and Wind-bound by bad Weather on the Coast of Dunkirk, that being unable to reach their own Shore, they will in vain regret, as well as all other Nations trading to the North, that Harbour of Safety, of which they shall be deprived; And which a bare Commiseration of the Danger to which Sea-faring Men are expos'd, ought to have preserved for them, according to the common Distates of Humanity.

Upon all these Considerations, that is, considering the small Damage which the Harbour of Dunkirk despoil'd of all its Fortifica. tions, both on the Sea, and the Land-side, may sause either to your Majesty's Subjects.

or to those of your Allies; the Usefulness and Vol. VI. Benefit which the Trade of Great Britain will find in the Preservation of the said Harbour in the manner above explain'd; And the unprofitable but ruinous Loss which the unfortunate Inhabitants of that Town will suffer by its Demolition, the Magistrates of Dunkirk and the Sieur Tugghe, their Deputy, presume to hope that your Majesty will graciously be pleas'd to recal part of your Sentence, by caufing your Thunder-bolts to fall only on the martial Works which may have incurr'd your Majesty's Displeasure; and by sparing only the Mole and Dikes, which in their Naked Condition can, for the future, be no more than an Object of Pity. Nay, they shall even be an eternal Monument of your Majesty's Glory, since by incessantly reminding the Beholders of the dreadful Ornaments, of which they shall remain despoiled by your Majesty's Will alone, they will, at the same time, eternally preserve the Memory of your Majesty's Clemency, which shall have bestow'd them on the Tears and Groans of the Inhabitants of that Town, overwhelm'd with Grief.

'Tis by these Tears and by these Groans that the Magistrates and their Deputy, humbly prostrate at the Feet of your Majesty's Throne, no less Gracious than Dreadful, beg the Preservation of their Harbour; and beseech your Majesty to wouch afe to look with Eyes of Pity on Eighteen Thousand Families, who must be reduced to wander about, if by the entire and severe Execution of Your Majesty's Orders, they are forced to quit their Habitatisons to go and feek, or rather beg their Bread.

Let not your Majesty's ever beneficent Hand be the Instrument of their Misery and Disper sion!

persion! And let not the Inhabitants of Dunkith be the only People in the World that may complain of the Rigour of a Queen whose Wis-dom and Clemency is ador'd by all the Earth.

What Answer was return'd to this Address or Memorial, is not yet come to publick Knowledge; but we may observe that the Sieur Tugghe, whether out of his proper Motion, or by the Suggestion and Encouragement of some Persons, having caus'd to be printed and dispers'd at the Royal-Exchange, and other Places, the foregoing Memorial, the Author of a daily Paper call'd the Guardian, did some time

* viz. in bis * after animadvert upon it in the follow-Paper of Aug. manner. 7. 1713.

Memorial.

The Guardi- T' is usually thought, with great Justice, a an's Animad- very impertinent thing in a private Man wersions upon to intermeddle in Matters which regard the State. But the Memorial which is mentioned in the following Letter is so daring, and so apparently designed for the most Traiterous Purpose imaginable, that I do not care what Misinterpretation I suffer, when I expose it to the Resentment of all Men who value their Country, or have any Regard to the Honour, Safety, or Glory of their Queen. It is certain there is not much Danger in delaying the Demolition of Dunkirk during the Life of his present most Christian Majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable Regard to Treaties, but that pious Prince is aged, and in case of his Decease, now the Power of France and Spain is in the same Family, it is possible an Ambitious Successor, (or his Ministry in a King's Minority) might dispute his being bound by the Act of his Predecessor in so weighty a Particular. Mr_{\bullet}

Mr. IRONSIDE. TOU employ your important Moments, metbinks, a little too frivolously, when you consider so often little Circumstances of Dress and Behaviour, and never make mention of Matters wherein you and all your Fellow Subjects in general are concerned. I give you now an Opportunity, not only of manisesting your Loyalty to your Queen, but your Affection to your Country, if you treat an Insolence done to them both with the Disdain it deserves. The enclosed Printed Paper in French and English has been handed about the Town, and given gratis to Passengers in the Streets at Noon-Day. ' You see the Title of it is, A most humble 'Address, or Memorial, presented to her 6 Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk. The nauseous Memorialist, with the most fulfom Flattery tells the Queen of her Thunder, ' and of Wisdom and Clemency ador'd by all the Earth, at the same time that he attempts to undermine her Power, and escape her Wisdom, by beseeching her to do an Act which would give a well grounded Jealousie to her People. What the Sycophant desires is, that the Mole and Dykes of Dunkirk ' may be spared; and, it seems, the Sieur 'Tugghe, for so the Petitioner is called, was 'Thunderstruck by the Denunciation (which he says) the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke ' made to him, That her Majesty did not think fit to make any Alteration in the dreadful Sentence she had pronounced against the Town. Mr. IRONSIDE, I think you would do an Act worthy your general Humanity, if you would put the Sieur Tugghe right

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in this Matter, and let him know that her Majesty has pronounced no Sentence against

the Town, but his most Christian Majesty

has agreed that the Town and Harbour shall be Demolished.

'That the British Nation expell the imme-

diate Demolition of it.

That the very Common People know, that within Two Months after the signing of the Peace, the Works towards the Sea were to be demolified, and within three Months after it the Works towards the Land.

That the faid Peace was signed the last

of March, O. S.

That the Parliament has been told from the Queen, that the Equivalent for it is in the Hands of the French King.

'That the Sieur Tugghe has the Impu-

dence to ask the Queen to remit the most material Part of the Articles of Peace between her Majesty and his Master.

That the British Nation received more

Damage in their Trade from the Port of Dunkirk than from almost all the Ports of France, either in the Ocean or in the Me-

diterranean.

That Fleets of above thirty Sail have come together out of Dunkirk, during the late War, and taken Ships of War as well as

Merchant-Men.

- That the Pretender sailed from thence to Scotland; and that it is the only Port the
- French have till you come to Brest, for
- the whole Length of St. George's Channel,
- tohere any confiderable Naval Armament can
- be made.
- That destroying the Fortifications of Dunkirk is an inconsiderable Advantage to England:

gland, in Comparison to the Advantage of Vol. VI.
Destroying the Mole, Dykes and Harbour,
is being the Naval Force from thence which
only can hurt the British Nation.

That the British Nation expest the im-

mediate Demolition of Dunkirk.

That the Dutch, who suffered equally with us from those of Dunkirk, were probably induced to sign the Teaty with France from this Consideration, that the Town and Harbour of Dunkirk should be destroyed.

That the Situation of Dunkirk is such, as that it may always keep Runners to obferve all Ships sailing on the Thames and

Medway.

That all the Suggestions, which the Sieur Tugghe brings concerning the Dutch, are

' false and scandalous.

That whether it may be advantageous te the Trade of Holland or not, that Dunkirk hould be demolished, it is necessary for the Safety, Honour, and Liberty of England shat it should be so.

That when Dunkirk is demolished, the Power of France, on that Side, should it ever be turned against us, will be removed feveral hundred Miles further off of Great

Britain than it is at present.

That after the Demolition there can be no confiderable Preparation made at Sea by the French in all the Channel but at Brest; and that Great Britain being an Island, which cannot be attacked but by a Naval Power, we may esteem France essectually removed by the Demolition from Great Britain as far as the Distance from Dunkirk to Brest.

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Pray, Mr. IRONSIDE, repeat this last Particular, and put it in a different Letter, That the Demolition of Dunkirk will remove France many hundred Miles further off from us; and then repeat again, That the British Nation expects the

Demolition of Dunkirk.

I Demand of you, as you Love and Honour your Queen and Country, that you
insert this Letter, or speak, to this Purpose
your own way, for in this all Parties must
agree, that however bound in Friendship one
Nation is with another, it is but prudent,
that, in case of a Rupture, they should be, if
possible, upon equal Terms.

Be Honest, old NESTOR, and say all this; for whatever half witted hot Whigs may think, we all value our Estates and Liberties,

and every true Man of each Party must think himself concerned that Dunkirk should

be Demolished.

It lies upon all who have the Honour to be in the Ministry to hasten this Matter, and not let the Crediulty of an honest brave People be thus infamously abused in our open
Streets.

I cannot go on for Indignation; pray God that our Mercy to France may not expose us to the Mercy of France.

Your humble Servant, English Tory.

These severe Reslections were, no doubt a great Mortification to Monsieur Tugghe; but how they were relished by the Britishe Court, is neither easy to guess, nor, perhaps, safe to relate. But this I will adventure to say, that the Apprehension that Dunkirk might not be demolished began about

for July, 17.13.

bout this time to raise strange Jealousies Vol. VI. in People's Minds.

On the first day of July the Earl of Kingston only Son to the Marquis of The E. of Dorchestor, died of the small Pox, in the Kingston dies 20th. year of his Age; leaving behind him a Son and a Daughter.

· About this time the Queen was pleas'd to confer the Dignity of a Baronet of Mr. Croffe Great-Britain on Thomas Cross, of the City net.

of Westminster, Esq.

On the 8th. of July the Duke d' Aumont The Duke d' Ambassador Extraordinary from the most Aumont pre-Christian King, presented her Majesty Seuts the Queen with a fine fet of Nine Coach Horses with 9 fine dappled-Grey, that had been in his Coach of State the day he made his Entry.

About this Time the Lord Viscount Townshend married Mrs. Walpole, Sister to Townshend Robert Walpole Eig; and John Huggins Eig; marries Mrs. High Bailiff of Westminster, was made War- Walpole Mr. den of the Fleet, in the Room of Colonel Hugginsmade Leighton deceased.

Warden of the

On Sunday the 5th. of July, Dr. Atter- The Bishon of bury, Lord Bishop of Rochester, was con-Rochester secrated at Lanbeth. consecrated.

Captain Paddon, her Majesty's Pleni- The Morocco potentiary to the Emperor of Morocco, Ambassador having receiv'd Assurances from that see as Liberty. Prince, that all her Majesty's Subjects who had been carried into Slavery in his Dominions should be set at Liberty, Her Majesty was pleas'd about the Beginning of July, to order Don Bentura de Zari, Ambassador from the Emperor of Morocoo, who was taken into Custody by way of Reprizal, to be released from his Conmement.

Vol. VI. On the 7th. of July George St. John Esq; Her Majesty's Secretary at Vereche, arriv'd Mr. St. John from thence at Whitehall, with the Treaty arrives from of Peace which was figned on the 2d of Utrecht. the same Month, between Her Majesty and the Catholick King.

The Lord Bp. of London dies July 72b.

The same day Dr. Henry Compten Bishop of London, dy'd at Fulham in the 81th. year of his Age. He was Son to Spencer Earl of Northampton, who was Kill'd in the Service of King Charles 1. and who the Day he fell had three of his Sons

that Engaged with him.

His Pedigree, The Fourth, who was the late Bishop of Life, and Char London, wanted neither Courage of Mind, nor Zeal for the Royal Caufe, but his Years did not permit him to take up Arms. Notwithstanding the Discouragements he met with, he firmly adher'd to the Ancient Constitution in Church and State, which upon the Restoration, together with the Sufferings of his Family, recommended him to the Favour of King Charles II. who advanc'd him to the Episcopal Dignity. But before this Advancement he pass'd though several Stages and different Conditions; and spent some years in Tra-

* See bis Fu. velling; not to fuck * ' in the Maxims of foreign States, or to try the Vices of meral Sermon foreign Courts: not before he knew our preach'd by Dr 4 own Constitution in Church and State, Gouch. p. 7.6

was able to defend it, and fure to stick to it. He observ'd and examin'd the

'Civil and Ecclesiastical Polities abroad;

he made them his Study, but not his Rule. The more he staid in France and

haly, the more English Man he was.

4 He came Home the better States-Man,

'and the better Church-man; he was proof against all their Arts to debauch either his Principles, or his Practifes. He faw their Mane ners but did not imitate them; what was worth while, he brought home with him. He learn'd their Languages, and retain'd them perfectly, which ' made him able to converse with, as he was ever ready to receive, entertain, and relieve Strangers: 'And the better qualify'd him for that mix'd, extensive Diocess, he so long and so honourably pre-' sided over. When he became a Clergyman, tho' he ' might have made high Demands upon the Court, he chose to make gradual and regular Advances, being above a Bishop's necessary years, when he was Ordain'd a Deacon. He took upon him the 6 Care of a smaller, afrerwards of a larger Parish, and 's shew'd in Both his concern for Souls. He accepted next a Canonry in Christ Church; where, when he was Sub-Dean he moderated in the Di-' vinity Disputations with such Gravity and Wisdom, as made those Exercises both reputable and instru-6 dive. To these Preserments the Royal Bounty an-' nex'd the Mastership of St. Cross's Hospital; by which his Income was considerably increas'd, and he had greater Opportunities of doing Good; The only Motive to him to wish for its Increase. Oxford, tho' always a Place dear to him, did not give him a Sphere extensive enough to Act in; And the King, who knew how to chuse, wanted to draw him nearer to himself. He had already brought him to Court, by appointing him Dean of the Royal Chappel: And the more he observ'd him, the more he delighted to Honour and be Ho-' noured by him. In him he expected to have a Faithful Friend. And therefore the Bishhp of London dying when Dr. Compton had been but a year at 4 Oxford, our Prelate was foon translated to that See: There he pass'd through a large and glori-

ous Field of Action; and had Tryals enough to fhew how steady he could be. In the latter Part of King Charles's Reign, there were Struggles in 4 abundance: But these went smoothly over: He fear'd GOD and the KING; and had the Favour of Both. There were those at Court who envied of Both. There were those at Court who envied and undermined him. They saw the greatest Confidence repos'd in him. The Management of the Protestant Interest, and the Security of the Pro-testant Succession, lay upon him, the Educating and Principling of the Royal Family being put into his Hands. How well he executed this great Charge, let those confess who value the Memomory of the late most renown'd Oueen MARY, or have not laid aside all Duty to our present most gracious Sovereign Queen Anna: They never forgot their Obligations to him; and as he was in the Esteem of the former to her dying Day, so he receiv'd Marks of Favour from Her prefent Majesty to his own. He had the particular Honour, which no one Bishop ever had, of Marrying Two Regent Queens to Protestant Princes. The Care of those Princesses was an envied Task: 4 And their Firmness to the Protestant Religion, was imputed to him as a Fault by the Papilts. When they had got Authority on their side, they remember'd and resented the Disservice done them: Our worthy Prelate, at the Head of his Clergy, made a Noble Stand in that great Criss. Then it was, that by his Encouragement, their Pulpits and their Pens so strenuously defended the Reform'd Reli-' gion, to the Shame and Silence of their Romillo Adversaries. To his immortal Honour I speak it; this was His unpardonable Crime. He remember'd the Apostle's solemn Charge, to take Heed unto "Himself, and to all the Flock: He could not forbid the Defending the Church of England. He could not conceal his Abhorrence of Popish Errors. He look'd

e upon the Romish Scheme as an entire Corruption of the Christian Faith; and therefore, set Himself against it, with all that Zeal and Courage which the Cause deserv'd, and the Times requir'd. This expos'd Him to the Anger of an unhappily mifguided Prince. He was mark'd as the first Sacrifice to Popish Fury, Suspended for the dischar-. ging his Daty, and so faithfully performing the good Work of a Bishop; Pursued and persecuted, as if, with Him alone, the Reformation was to stand or fall. In the midst of all this Oppression, He trusted in God, that He would deliver Him. He never defponded or despair'd; but thought it then a proper Time to resume his Care and Charge, and to guard our present Sovereign against any Attempts on her Religion, or her Liberty. This is that so much talk'd of Part He acted at the Revolution. ' rescued our present Sovereign; He hid Her (as it were) till Popish Tyranny was over-past. For this too, how invidiously, nay, how contradictorily has He been treated? He has been envied and arraign'd for thefelf-same Thing; as if He had done both too much, and too little. But if no Man would go farther than " He did, upon fo great an Occasion, or would go so far upon a smaller, there might be a happier End of all our Controversies, about the Prince's Safety, and the Subject's Duty. During that nice and difficult Juncture, He was call'd peculiarly the Protestant Bishop: And, indeed, He was the Ornament and Security of the Protestant Cause. But, see how a Man's Name and Character may alter, tho' Himself never changes. What was Danger and Expence to him, others were not content to reap the Profit of, but would engross the Reputation too. No fooner was the Storm gone over, but Jealousies were infus'd, and Calumnies dise pers'd, to supplant and undermine him. Still he went on confiftently, and like himself; despiting all

he still expected to do; and a great deal he did do. He provided for many an honest Man, by adding an unwearied Application to the Justice of the Claim: And gave Her Majesty such reasonable and such agreeable Advice, upon the Vacancy of Two Dioceses, as occasion'd their being well fill'd. He liv'd to see Times, when his Access became easier at Court, and he had greater Power and Interest there. But, whether the Times were good or bad, he look'd upon all this Power and Interest only as accidental Circumstances, that at-

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tend the Office of a Bishop; but not an essential ' Part of that good Work. What was such, no Difference of outward Affairs, whether prosperous or ' adverse, could divert him from: This he esteem'd ont only his Privilege, but his Duty too. He knew the ill Consequences that arise to Religion and the 'Church, by the Non-residence of Ministers; and therefore, much less would he set such a fatal and dangerous Example. He refided not only always ' in the Diocese, but in every Part on't. He visited Parish by Parish, to shew that his Clergy should ' do so, from House to House: And was just finishing his Parochial Visitation, when a fit of the Gout ' prevented him; and at last a Complication of Distempers, which deprived us of Him. Where-' soever he resided, and wheresoever he visited, he was a constant, useful, and an acceptable Preacher. He was earnest and pressing in his Exhortations, and always enliven'd and adorn'd them, by his own most exemplary and unblemish'd Pra-' dice. But lest his sermons should miss of their due Effect, his Method was to propose some To-• pick in Divinity, to be discours'd of by himself and 'Clergy, in a ferious, grave, and judicious Manner; which was afterwards summ'd up, and form'd into a. regular Treatife. And many of these, which are ' call'd The Bishop of London's Conferences are pub-' lish'd, together with his Charges, as constant Re-' membrancers of the Pastoral Duty. His Diocese was extensive beyond all others; the Plantations beyond Sea being under his Care, and subject to his Inspection; Yet even these he wish'd'to see 5: and neither the Danger nor the Difficulty of the Voyage it self would have hindred him, had not those tumultuous Times, he liv'd in, when he defign'd it, and unpeaceable Times succeeding them, ' made it altogether impracticable. He never spar'd. bimself, when his Duty call'd him; and often ventur'd

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tur'd (against the Warning and Entreaty of 4 Friends) upon those difficult and toilsome Parts

of bis Office, the numerous Confirmations, &c. as if no Time were too much for so good a Work. He was not blameless only, which is a fort of a ne-

gative Character, but He was a Pattern of good

Behaviour and of good Works. ' HE was in all Respects one of the best-bred Men 'in his Time: In all Respects, I say, because Religion is the best Ingredient. Without it, the exactest Deportment may be carried on by Flattery, and may end in Treachery. He was courteous, s and affable; not full of Words, but very conversable: And as in his Ministerial Offices, so in his Conversation too, he was willing and apt to teach. He was always easie of Access, and ready to do good Offices. In his Friendships he was constant, I may fay inflexible. He was given to Hospitality as much as any Man; but generous and charitable beyond any Example. He provided for Twelve poor People constantly, for many others accidentally every Day at his Gate. He disposed of Moe nev to every one, who could make out (and it was every easy to make that out to him) that he was a proper Object of Charity. He had divers ancient People, Men and Widows, whom he supported by constant anual Pensions, and several Children at School at his own Cost and Charge; beside those educated from Children, and brought up to the "University and to Trades.' He was, in a particular manner, charitable and bountiful to the poor French Resugees, who by his Death sustain an almost irrepara-ble Loss! But these, tho' Noble and truly Christian, were Charities of a transient Kind. He spar'd onot Cost nor Pains to serve the Church and its · Clergy in a more lasting Manner. He brought in many Advowsons from those straggling Hands, which are apt to enfnare and wound Men's Consciences.

sciences. He gave great Sums for the rebuilding of Churches, and greater still (for this he knew was the best-plac'd Bounty; for the buying in Impropriations, and fettling them upon the poor Vicars. This he lately did in Effex, to the Value of Twelve hundred Pounds, by which he rais'd a very mean Curacy to a very competent Subfiftence. He had indeed, a particular Regard for those who were of the Houshold of the Faith, and in the same Communion with himself; and tho' he wish'd the Welfare of all Men, he would not yet betray the Rights of the Church, in Favour to a Schism. He had seen so much the Effects of popular Frowardness and Contention; Men's awkward Dislike to what is fettled, and Defire to change, that he dreaded the Thoughts of Innovations. as well as any body to the Protestant Interest, and would gladly have feen it more united: Nay he was once in the Number of those, who did attempt the Thing; till he found, that not a Sense of true and undissembled Religion, but Interest and Humour were at the Bottom; and that there was no Comprehension to be propos'd, or Satisfaction given, but by the expensive Sacrifice of Truth and Order. No Man was ever more free than he from Anger and Resentment: If any offended, he would even prevent their asking Pardon, by his hafte to give it, and he could easily forgive a great injury, but never stoop to a mean Action: Witness among a thousand others a remarkable Case, upon a Quarrel between a Minister and his Parishoners in London. When our excellent Bifloop was call'd in, and 'twas prov'd against the Rettor, that he had spoken vilely and contemptuoully of his Diocesan; the Holy Man made this most Christian Return, I am glad on't, (says He) for he has given Me an Opportunity of letting you a good Example in forgiving him. As he was

The POLITICAL STATE related to both Universities having taken his Mafter's of Arts Degree at Cambridge, and been educated and preferr'd in Oxford; so he made them both his constant Care, and never countenanc'd any invidious and dangerous Distinctions between them. Like other Men he was imperfect; but yet his Failings were other and fewer than those of the Generality of Mankind. They were Infirmities not Prefumptions. They proceeded not from vicious Inclinations, much less from vicious Habits; but from Easiness of Nature, and Goodness f of Disposition. I had almost said, they proceeded from his Virtues, and would have been reckon'd fuch in other People. He found it hard to relift. an importunate Man; and as there were those in the World whose Modesty nor Manners did ever forbid them making their Attempts that way, fo he was sometimes deceiv'd. But tho' he had the fewest Faults, he beg'd Pardon, as if he had the 5 most. No one so strict and regular in his private Devotions; no one so constant and frequent in the Service of the Church. For, beside the publick Offices Morning and Evening, his whole Family began the Day with the Litany, and ended it with felect Prayers from our excellent Liturgy: And at all these Times, he himself (when he was able) was a constant Attendant. A Life thus regularly conducted, a Soul thus pioully fram'd, with a full Dependence on God, and a true Faith in our Res deemer, might bid defiance to the worst of temporal Evils, and to Death it felf. And, if Courage, Constancy, and Resolution, be the genuine Fruits of true Religion, (and surely, nothing else can produce them;) if Peace, Joy, and Long-Suffering,

be the Fruits of the Spirit, (and, we are fure, he is the Author of them;) how holy, and how happy must that Temper be, in which these Christian Graces were to visibly united. For never did such

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tender and fuch manly Pailions meet before in the same Breast! Never such Firmness and Fortitude. mixt with fo much Meekness and Modesty! He was never feen to be afraid or concern'd at Danger. In the midst of Storms, he himself was calm: And in the midst of Fire, (in a literal as well as figurative Sense) he himself was cool. In short. he had a great Mind and a good Conscience, God was pleas'd to try the Strength and Truth of both. by severe and sharp Distempers; yet in the tormenting Pains of the Gout and Stone, he never was heard to murmur or repine. He never complain'd against God, nor grew peevish to his Domesticks. He was firm and constant, quiet and good-natur'd to the End. When his last Sickness came upon him, he foresaw and foretold what would be the Event on't, with the same Composede ness as if he had been sure of his Recovery. knew his Summons could never be sudden, because he was never unprepared to receive it. He talk'd of dying with the same Unconcerneduess, (shall I fay, or with the same Pleasure?) as if he was only taking a Journey; and wish'd for nothing but an easy Passage, for he was sure, beforehand, of a safe Arrival at that happy Place, where there's perfect Rest, and endless Peace. He receiv'd the Sacrae ment of the Lord's Supper, in the Beginning of his Sickness, but after his Confinement to his Bed: And, as if the whole Man had receiv'd a new Spring of Life, he rose upon his Knees (unassisted) to take the Body and Blood of our LORD, the Birest Viaticum to a Christian Soul. The time he continued after, he spent in pious Meditations, and calling upon Gop. He had often the Prayers of the Church read by him, and in almost every Church they were put up for him; and God was pleas'd to hear and answer them, and at last to take this bely and bumble Man unto himself, in the same easy and

and quiet Manner, as he had endeavour'd to live, and wish'd to die.' His Body was (on the 15th of July) interrr'd in the Church-yard at Fulham, according to his particular Direction; for he used to say, That the Church is for the Living, and the Church-yard for the Dead. Upon the whole Matter, in him the Poor lost their Relief; the Distress'd their Advocate; the Clergy their Guide; his Doe mesticks and Relations a Father. But the greatest Loss was to the Publick: For in him the Church lost a most excellent Bishop; the Kingdom a brave and able Statesman, whose Integrity and Steddie ness had approved themselves in the most trying Times; the Queen a faithful Subject, and a wife Counsellor; the Protestant Religion at home and abroad, its Ornament and its Refuge, who had e made, and was ready, on any new Attempt, to make the noblest Stand against Popery; the whole Chirfitian World an eminent Example of Virtue and Piety, an unanswerable Instance and Evidence of the Power and Efficacy of true Religion.! The Publick are oblig'd for this Character of the late Bishop of London, to Thomas Gouch Doctor of Divinity, lately one of his Lordship's Domestick Chaplains, who on the 26th of July preach'd his Funeral Sermon before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at the Cathedral Church of St. Paul.

On the 10th of July it was made pub-The Ld. Ashlick that the Queen had been pleas'd to burnham appoint the Lord Ashburnham to be Colomade. Captain nel and Captain of the first Troop of Horse of the 1st Troop Guards, in the room of the Earl of Portof Guards. land, who was order'd to dispose of his Post for the Sum of 10000 l. Her Majesty was also pleased to appoint Colonel Moody Col. Moody Lieut. Govern. to be Lieutenant Governour of Placentia.

of Placentia. About this time the Countess Dowager The C. Dow-

ager of Salis. of Salisbury died. bury dies.

Mr.

Mr. William Hurt, Printer of the News Vol. VI. Paper call'd the Flying-Post, having, as was mention'd* before, been convicted of *Polit. State Publishing a Scandalous and Seditious Li-458. bel entituled, The British Embassadress's Speech to the French King, receiv'd Sen- Mr. Hurt's tence of the Court of Queen's Bench, on the Sentense. 25th of June, ' to stand in and upon the Pillory on Saturday the 27th of June in the Palace-Yard Westminster, for the Space of an Hour, with a Paper denoting his Offence; and on Saturday the 4th of July at Charing-Cross; and on Saturday the 11th of July at the Royal Exchange in like manner; to pay a Fine of 50 l. to her Majesty, to be imprison'd for two Years, and until he shall pay the faid Fine; and to find sufficient Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life. Ac- He stands 3 coording to this Sentence. Mr. Hurt stood times in the Pillory. in the Pillory on the 25th of June and 4th of July; and tho' feveral Persons were fet on to abuse him, yet his Friends were To industrious in diverting the Mobb, that he escaped unhurt. On the 11th of July, when he stood again in the Pillory at the Reyal Exchange, there appear'd to be a form'd Design to stone him to Death, which might easily have been put in Execution, by Reason there was but a small Number of Sheriffs-Men to guard the Prisoner. But his Friends having engaged a great Number of the Spectators to pro- Warm Skirwhich was renew'd three times, and main the Mobb ou bie tain'd on both sides, with great Obstinacy

and Fury, insomuch that Eleven or Twelve Persons were laid sprawling on the Ground,

forely

Vol. VI. forely wounded with Cudgels. But at last those who endeavour'd to defend Mr. Hurt, got the Victory, and after he had stood out his Time in the Pillory, he was carried safe into a Neighbouring Tavern. It was observ'd that a Man-Cook, belonging to a certtain Nobseman, was very active, and was soundly beaten in the Fray; which rais'd a Suspicion that he might be set on by his Master.

* July 11th The same * Day, the Queen was pleas'd Mr. Suffield to confer the Honour of Knighthood on Knighted.

John Suffield of Portsmooth Esq; and about this time, Instructions were sent to Ire-

A Pension of land for passing a Patent there, for a 5000 l. a year Pension of 5000 l. for the Term of 15 setled on sbe D. Years, to be granted to the Duke of Orof Ormond. mond, out of the Revenues of that Kingdom, in Consideration of his eminent Services.

The Duke d' On Tuesday Night, the 14th of July, Aumont gives the Duke d' Aumont gave a magnificent Ball and Entertainment at Somerset-house, where above Twelve Hundred, Persons in Masks were admitted.

Golden Me- On the 16th, on which Day the Parliadal on the Peace ment was prorogued, Golden Medals, to given to the the value of 41. each, struck on the oc-Members of casion of the Peace, were by her Ma-Parliamen. jesty's Order, given to all the Members of both Houses of Parliament. On the right side was her Majesty's Effigies, and round it the usual Inscription, Anna Dei Gratia Mag. Brit. Fran. & Hiber. Reg. And in the Reverse, Britannia holding an Olive Branch in her right Hand, with a Plough, and a Man sowing a Field behind her, and before her a Sea with Ships under Sail, and round

round it this Motto, Compositis Venerantur Vol. VI. Armis. In the Exergne was only the Date

of the Year, viz. MDCCXIII.

On the 20th of July her Majesty was John Evelya pleas'd to confer the Dignity of a Baronet Esq; made 4 of Great Britain upon John Evelyn, of Balonot. Women, in the County of Surrey, Esq.; And four Day's after it was made publick that her Majesty had also been pleas'd to the Exchequer, a Peer of Great Britain, by created Lord the Stille and Title of Lord Bingley, in Bingley. the County of York. About this time the The Marquit of Lord Marquis of Winchester, Eldest Son to Winchester the Duke of Bolton, was married to the Lasy Vaughan Lady Anon Vaughan, a rich Heirefs, Daughter to the late Earl of Carbery.

FINIS

In a few Days will be deliver doug Propositions Printing by Subferiations Montieux Dupin's new Edition of

6 The great Historical and Geographical Dictionary, or a curious Mifcellany of Sacred and Prophane History; containing an Abridgment of the fabrilous Hiltory of the Gods and Heroes of Pagan Antiquity; the Lives and remarkable Actions of the Patriarchs; Judges; Kings of the Jews; Popes; Holy Martyrs and Confessors; Fathers of the Church and Orthodox Doctors; Bishops, Cardinals, and other celebrated Prelates; Heresiarchs; and Schistar. ricks, with their principal Tenets and Opinions; as also of the Emperors; Kings; illustrious Princes, and great Captains; Authors both Aucient and Modern; Philosophers; Inventors of Arts; and of all of such as have rendred themselves Famous in all Sorts of Professions, by their Knowledges, Inventions, Works, or remarkable Performances. The Establishment and Progress of Religious and Military Orders, with the Lives of their respective Founders; the Genealogies of the most illustrious Houses in France, Germany, Spain, and other Countries; the Description of Empires, Kingdoms, Republicks, Provinces, Islands, Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and other remarkable Places, either in Ancient or Modern Geography: Wherein is given a particular Account of the Situation, Extent, Qualities, and Product of the feveral Countries, Religion, Government, Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants; Dignities, Magistrates, and Titles of Honour. With an Account of all Arts and Sciences, publick Solemnities, Games and Festivals, general and particular Councils, &c. The whole enriched with Remarks, Differtations, and curious Inquiries, for the clearing and illustrating the most difficult Points in History, Chronology, and Geography, drawn from feveral Authors, particularly from Monfieur Bayle's Critical Dictionary. First compiled and composed by Mr. Lewis Moreri, Prieft, and Doctor of Divinity; and now very much enlarg'd and improv'd by Mossieur Dupin, with large Abstracts out of his Ecclesiafical History. Printed at Paris by Denys Mariette, &c. in five Volumes in Folio. To which will be added, The Genealogical History of the Kings, Queens, Peers, Baronets, Prelates, Doctors, Philosophers. Chancellors, Judges, celebrated Authors, Poets, and other eminent Persons in Great Britain and Ireland. Proposals will be deliver'd out by the Undertakers, viz. W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Nother-Row, T. Vernam and J. Osborn in Lombard-street, J. Pemberson and R. Coffing in Fleet-street, and N. Cliff in Cheapfide.

S TATE

O F

GREAT BRITAIN,

With the

Most Material Occurrences in Europe.

For the Month of August, 1713.

Containing in Particular,

I. The REPORT of the Lower House of Convocation, in Vindication of themselves.

II. Proceedings of the Commission of the Church of Scotland,

with their Seasonable Warning, &c.

III. Abstract of a Letter from a Member of the House of Commons, about the Bill of Commerce, &c. And of other Pamphlets, particularly, A Letter to a West Country Clothier; A Short History of the Parliament, &c.

IV. Account of the Perfecution of the Protestants in Paland.
V. Preferments bestow'd, and Marriages consummated, within this Month, &c.

VI. Some remarkable Passages about Elections, &c.



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THE

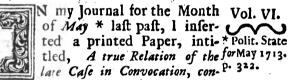
POLITICAL STATE

FOR

The Month of August, 1713.

London, Aug. 31. 1713.

SIR,



cerning an Address proposed to be presented to Her Majesty upon the Conclusion of the Peace. This Writing, I am inform'd, was publish'd by Direction of some Members of the Upper House of Convocation; and concluding with doubtful Infinuations, as if the Inferior Clergy had not had due Regard to their Subordination of Presbyters to their Bishops, or that Concern for the Unity of the Church which they ought always to shew; and had not afted agreeably to the Assurance they gave Her Majesty in their Last Address, of their Studying the Things which make for Peace: The Lower House of Convocation thought fit to vindicate their Proceedings; and some time after, publish'd the Substance of a Report drawn up by The Substance a Committee, brought into their House, and of a Report receiv'd by it, Die Mercur' 1 Julij, 1713. House of Conas follows:

draw out an Account of the feveral Gracious Letters and Messages which this Convocation has received from Her Majesty; of the Steps which have been thereupon taken by this House, towards proceeding on Business, and the Obstructions they have met with therein; have drawn up the said Account according to their Instructions, as far as the great Variety of the Matter and Shortness of the Time would permit; which is as follows:

- FIRST HEAD: An Account of the several Gracious
 Letters and Messages, &c. which this Covocation
 has receiv'd from Her Majesty; viz.
- 1. 6 THE Queen's Letter, Dec. 12. 1710.

 6 II. Her Majesty's First Letter of Li
 4 cence, Janu. 23. 1710.

'III. Her Majesty's Answer to the Address of

6 Both Houses, Jan. 27. 1710.

'IV. Part of the QUEEN's First Letter to the Archbishop, with the Heads of Business, January 29.

V. The Second Licence, Febr. 12. 1710.

'VI. The Second Letter, with Heads of Business, Febr. 14. 1710.

'VII. The Queen's Letter, with the Judges Opinion, in relation to Mr. Whifton, May 8. 1711.

- VIII. The QUEEN's Answer, when the Form of Consecration, was presented to Her, June 1712. viz.
- Take this Occasion to put you in mind of what I recommended to you for the Interest of our Religion.
 Thope at your next Meeting I shall have the Satisfaction
 to See it perfected.
- IX. A Passage in the Queen's Letter, of Aug. 20. 1711. to the Archbishop of Canterbury. (All which

for August, 1713. Vol. VI.

which having before been inserted in the Course of this Monthly Collection, (ball not be repeated here.)

From all which it appears, That Her Majesty has certainly none her part, in order to our Proceeding on Business, both by impowering and exciting the Convocation fo to do; and perhaps more than any other Christian Prince has done, in the like Term of Years, on the same Occasion.

The more highly to blame will be the Convocation on, if, after all, they have been wanting in their

Which whether the Lower House has been, will appear from

THE SECOND HEAD: Of the Steps which have been taken by this House, in pursuance of the Queen's Letters, towards Proceeding on Basmess.

On the First Address to Her Majesty, sent down from the Upper House, Dec. 13. 1710. after the Receipt and Reading of Her Ma-' jesty's First Letter, whereof no manner of notice was taken in the said Address, the Lower House prepar'd, and humbly offer'd to Their Lordships, what they conceiv'd not improper to be inserted in it; particularly,

'Their humble Thanks,

For Her Majesty's Piaus Intentions, to emplay this Syned in Business suitable to their Sacred Function, and ber Readiness to grant them such Powers, as may be tequisite for that purpose.

For her exharming the two Houses to put an end to their Disputes; and expressing her Resolution, to de all that in

Her Majesty lies to compose and extinguish them.

To which they add the following Premises:

In return for these singular Favours, we give Your Majesty our most solemn Assurances;

That

That we will diligently endeavour to answer Your Maje-

sty's godly Purposes in assembling us.

That we will particularly direct our Consultations against those loose and prophane Principles, and their Abettors, which have given Your Majesty so great Grief.

That we will take all proper Measures to put an end to our Disputes about the Forms of our Proceedings; and if we should not succeed, will submit them.

to your Royal Determination.

'And whether the Lower House have made good these Promises, will appear in the Sequel of this Paper.

But Their Lordships rejected these Additions:

- And while the Lower House were endeavouring to find out an Expedient to agree with Their Lord-
- fhips, this was render'd impracticable, by the Prin-

ting and Publishing of the said Address; whereof

" more on the Third Head.

- On the Second Address sent down from Their Lordships, with Thanks for the Royal Licence, wherein Their Lordships promise Her Majesty, To deliberate and consider of the Matters therein recommended (but it feems undefignedly forgot to pro-
- mise Their Lordships would agree upon any of these Matters, tho' that was likewise required in
- the Licence) to which Address the Lower House,
- without any Amendments, being willing to prevent Disputes and Delays, concurr'd with Their
- Lordships, and join'd in the presenting it; the
- Lower House came to this Resolution, Nemine con-
- tradicente:

That this House will, in duriful Complyance with Her Majesty's Expettations, declar'd in her Gracious Anstrer to the Address, heartily and unanimously apply themselves to those weighty Matters, which tend to the Honour of Religion, &c. and in order thereso, will do all that in them lies, to avoid every thing that may binden the good Effett of her Royal Licence.

Refolved

Refolved the same Day.

That an immediate Application be made to his Grace, Representing, That the Convocation being now about to proceed upon Business, It is the earnest Request of this House, That his Grace would be pleased to take some effectual Care, that the absent Members should be call d upon forthwith to appear.

And that the Attuary of this House apply to the Register of the Upper House to know, whether any Returns have been made from any of the Bishops, since the List

of Returns by him deliver'd.

'To this may be added, for the Affinity of the 'Matter, an Application of the Lower House to the

' Bishops, shewing,

That Complaints had been made from several Parts of this Province, that the Execution of Mandates for the Election of Proctors for this Convocation, was so long delay'd, that divers of the Electors could not attend the Choice; and several of the Proctors that were chosen, could not, without great difficulty, be present at the opening of the Convocation; for which they pray a Remedy for the suture.

· And were promis'd;

That if there had been any such Delays, care would be taken, as much as may be, to prevent them for the su-ture.

'The Convocation being now entring on Business, this Committee find it hardly practicable for them, at present, to give a distinct and full Account, of all

the Steps which have been taken by the Lower

'House, to proceed on the several Heads Her Ma-'jesty was pleas'd to recommend to them in Her 'most Gracious Letters.

'And yet it appears highly necessary, to give a ge'neral View of the Endeavours which have been us'd by
this House, to comply with each particular Command
of Her Majesty, imparted to the Convocation in
the said Letters.

4 Which

Which accordingly-here follows.

1. The First of those Heads was,

The drawing up a Representation of the present State of Religion, &c.

In order to this, the same Day their Lordships had fignify'd their Pleasure for a Joint Committee of Both Houses to be appointed for that Purpose,

the Lower House immediately chose Ten of their

Members to go into a Joint Committee with the Lords, for the drawing up the said Representation. And after the Licence was renew'd, which 2d. Licence bore date, Feb. 12. the Lower House hearing nothing from their Lordships, on that Head, till the 23d of the same Month, they then apply'd to their Lordships by their Prolocutor; and, at their defire repeated the Message in Writing, requefling their Lordships Opinion, Whether, by reason of the new Licence and Letter, the Committees of Both Houses were not now determined; and if so, that they would be pleased to revive them. 'On which their Lordships Resolved, That the Two Committees, on the Two first Heads, should be renew'd. On the 4 2d of March the Prolocutor desired their Lordships, according to a Resolution of the Lower House, That their Lordships would be pleas'd to appoint "Time and Place for the Meeting of the Committees; which being done, the Members of the Lower House, appointed for the Committee on the First Head, e met those appointed by the Lords; and the Reprefentation was drawn up, and unamimously agreed to by the Joint Committee, and brought into the Lower House, and read there by a worthy Member, on the 21st of March.

But how this Representation came to be dropt, will

' appear on the Third Head.

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II. As to the Second Head of Bufiness, that of Regulating Proceedings in Excommunications, &c. 'Tho' the Lower House found such Difficulties in it, as have not hitherto been furmounted by the Wisdom and Application of several Ages, both in Parliament and Convocation; yet they have not been discouraged, from using their utmost Endeavours towards the adjusting a Matter of so nice and complicated a Nature, wherein such various Imerefis are concern'd, and the Regulating whereof, would conduce so much to the Honour and Benefit of the Church, by the restoring and ftrengthening of Godly Discipline amongst us. They have accordingly had many Consultations on this Head; have gotten what Lights they could towards it from Antiquity, ever fince the Reformation; have receiv'd with all respect, and duly weigh'd what hath been fent to them, from the Upper House, on this Subject; and have, in their turns, humbly proposed to their Lordships, what to this House appear'd convenient; and have actually agreed to Canons and Constitutions, for the Regulating of these Proceedings, as likewise, to apply to the Civil Power for their Assistance, in such Cases where they apprehended that a Canon would e not so well reach the Evils complained of; particularly for an Act de Comumace, instead of de Excommunicate capiendo, to be called for by the Ecclesiastical Judge, in such Cases as he should be direcred by a Ganon made for that Purpose: And another Act, for applying part of the Moneys, which should be given for Commutation of Pe-4 nance, (to prevent the Abuses whereof, Canons were also provided) to the use of the Charity Schools, in or near the Place where the Offender biv'd. The Draughts of which Acts have been brought into this House, Read, Consider'd and Agreed to; the Lower House, having been of Opinion,

Opinion, that any fuch Acts would more properly take their Rise from the Convocation, than from any other Hand. Which Acts were (as well as the Canons) sent up to their Lordships, and have long lain before them: And if no further Progress has been made in that important Affair, 'tis hop'd, it will not be imputed to this House, nor are they to answer for the Dilatory Proceedings in it; since it appears on their Books, that a Paper relating to this Matter, which they had sent up to the Upper House, had lain before their Lordships, at least Ten Months, before they received any Answer.

III. As to the Third Head in Her Majestys Letter,
The preparing a Form of Prayer for Prisoners, Con-

verts, &c.

They find in their Books, that on the 9th of March 1710, the Prolocutor reported to this House, as he had been inform'd by the Bishop then Presiding in the Upper House," That the Bishops of Norwich and St. Asaph, having been sent from the Upper House, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, had desired certain Forms of Prayer, which, as it was thought, had been already Composed, and were in the Hands of the Archbishop. To which his Grace replied, That, 'twas indeed Resolved in the Year 1689, that such Forms should be composed, but yet it was not done; and that his Grace then lying on his Bed, could give them no Assistance in the Matter, conserning which, he doubted not but the Synod would take very good Care.

On which the Upper House Resolv'd as follows:
That the Composing of such Forms as are proposed by
Her Majesty, being a Matter of very great Consequence,
and which requires more time to perfect, than we suppose, may remain before the Recess of this Convocation;
they have agreed to recommend to his Grace, to get such
Forms

Forms prepared, so be laid before the Convocation as

- their next Meeting after such Recess.
 From which Time, being more than Two Years, during Two Meetings of Convocation and Part of a Third, the Lower House have not heard any. thing from their Lordships of this Matter, tho there could be no Objection against proceeding in it, and tho' it was own'd to be of so very great Consequence, and was to have been prepard to be laid before the Convocation at their next Meet-6 ing: But the poor Prisoners have been forgotten these Four and Twenty Years; for so long it appears to have been, since 'twas only Resolu'd to take this Care of them.
- IV. The Fourth Head was,

The Establishing Rural Deans where they are not, and rendring them more useful where they are.

About which the Lower House have likewise taken considerable Pains; and a Reverend and Learned Member, well vers'd in Antiquities of this Nature, has, as appears on their Books, given great Light into this Matter. And after divers Debates and Messages to their Lordships, concerning the Persons who were to place and dis-' place the said Rural Deans; the Lower House desiring, according to what they apprehended they had prov'd was agreeable to ancient Usage and Canons, That tho' the Rural Deans should be plac'd and displac'd by the Bishop, they should be recommended by the Archdeacon, and not displac'd without his Confent, because they had ever been Ministerial both to Bishop and Archdeacon: Their Lordfhips infifting, that they should be displac'd by the Bishop only, the Lower House at last came to the following Resolution, to be offer'd to their Lordships on this Subject,

That if your Lordships shall not be pleas'd, that the share of Archdeacons in the displacing Rural Deans, be declar'd and confirm'd in the present Constitution, the Lower House are content that these Words, Par. 4. [Unless Great Cause Coall appear to the Bishops and Archdeacons having Jurisdiction, or to the Bishops, where there are no Archdeacons having Jurisdiction, for displacing them sooner be wholy omitted, lest (all the other Heads of the Said Paper being adjusted) a Difagreement between the Two Houses upon this One Article, should, for the present, disappoint Her Majesty's Expestation, and deprive the Church of the Benefit that may arife from a Regular Eftablishment of Rural Deans.

From whence 'tis evident, that the Lower House were very unwilling to disagree with their Lord-

flips; fince they receded, in the present Instance, from what they apprehended they had provid to

be their Right, both by Law and Custom, in order to prevent any such Disagreement: Tho' to how

Little purpose the Success will evidence. For,

The Lower House having compleated, as far as in them lay, The Constitution of Rural Deans, their ' Office and Power, carry'd it up to the Lords; but their Lordships, notwithstanding repeated Applications from the Lower House, refus'd to receive it, for the Reasons which will be given under the

'Third Article.

. V. Their Labours on the Fifth Head of Business, The making Provision for preserving and transmitting more exact Terriers.

Which, if it had been happily accomplished, e might have been of great use, both in the prefent Age, and to Posterity, and might at least have ' hindred the Church from being robb'd of what is bet left her, met with the same Fate as the former Constitution, and was at the same time rejected

by their Lordships, for the same Reason.

· VI.

VI. They had likewise taken great Pains on the Sixth and last Head of Business recommended to them by Her Majesty, viz.

The Regulating of Licences for Matrimony, accor-

riages.

In order whereunto, the Lower House had as greed to Canons, and a Form for an Ast of Parliament. But that Matter likewise sleeps, and they

hear no more of it than of the former.

But belides the above Heads of Business, recommended in Her Majesty's Letters, the Lower House

have gone upon several other weighty Matters, agreeable to the General Powers which were given

them in the Royal Licence.

In particular— They appointed a standing Committee, very early in their first Session," For

she Premoting of Publick Charities. Which has

f already had very noble Effects, and might have had greater.

Such as,

. I. The Draught of a Canon and All of Parliament

for Encouraging of Charity-Schools.

Both which have a long time fince received the last Hand from the Lower House, and lain before their Lordships.

2. The Building of Fifty New Churches (perhaps more than are in most Cities of Christendom) in and

about the Cities of London and Westminster, fo

nouch wanted there.

Which was at first propos'd in the Lower House, by this Committee; then agreed to by the House, and Resolved,

· Nemine Contradicante,

That an Application should be made to the Houserable House of Commons, from this Hause, on that Subjest.

4 Which

Which was drawn up, read and agreed to, and presented to the Speaker of the House of Commons, by the Prolocutor and several Members, on the 4 28th of February. Was received by the House of " Commons, when presented by Mr. Speaker, with 4 Affection and Respect: And 'twas Resolv'd by them, 4 Martij 1.

That they would, in all Masters immediately relating to Religion and the Welfare of the Church, have a particular Rogard to such Applications as should at any time be made to them from the Clergy in Convocation

essembled.

And on the 23d of March, the Lower House apply'd to their Lordships, that they would, together with this House, address Her Majesty, to e recommend to the House of Commons the Building the faid Churches: Their Lordships sent down an Address to that Purpose; to which the Lower · House agreed. The Address was presented. Her

· · Majesty promis'd to recommend it. 'Twas done e accordingly; and the Commons there-upon have, by an Act or Acts of Parliament, made a noble 4 Provision for Building the said Churches. 4 3. A Third thing which took its rise Originally from the Lower House, as well as the two forf mer, and was carry'd on, with great and unexpeded Difficulties, as far as it went, was the Cenfure and Condemnation, of several notoriously 4 Heretical Positions, Published by one William Whifon, and, with an unheard of Assurance, Dedicated by him, to the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy, in Convocation Assembled. His Heresies were at e length Condemn'd, and the Censure passed upon them by Both Houses, was some time after prefented to her Majesty, by some of the Bishops, or at the leaft, by one of them, without admitting the Lower House to join with their Lordships in f the presenting the said Judgment; tho' they did · in

in the passing of it. Which Judgment, Her Majefly afterwards told a Committee of Both Houses,
which waited on her, on another Occasion [ought
to have been presented to Her Majesty, in a more
Solemn Manner.] Some Mistakes happen'd in this
affair, which we are willing to pass over. And the
reason why the Heretick escaped, without being
eited in Person, in order either to his Abjuration
or Excommunication, will appear but too plain,
under the Third Head, yet remaining.

4. 'A Fourth thing, which the Lower House have gone through, tho' not specified in Her Ma-

6 jesty's Letter, was,

* A Form of Confectation for Churches and Chappels.

* Which was received by the Lower House, with

* all due Respect, when sent down from Their

* Lordships, considered and compleated, with all

* Diligence and Expedition, being received the 2d of

* April, and returned to Their Lordships the 11th

* with very many Amendments, and the Addition

of one Collect, for the Fifty new Churches; and by a Committee of both Houses, presented to Her

Majesty the ... of June, 1712.

From all which it appears, that the Lower House have not only promis'd to proceed on Business; but, as they humbly conceive, have actually done their Parts, as far as lay in their Power, to answer the great Trust reposed in them by Her Majesty, and by their Brethren the Clergy, which great Body they have the Honour to represent in Convocation.

And if the Lower House have had the Distatisfadion of not having been able to do what they proposed for the Service of the Church; tho' the above is perhaps more than has been done before in several Convocations since the Restoration; they have yet not been wanting in frequent and pressing Applications to Their Lordships, in order to expedite

e pedite Buliness, ever fince their first Meeting. agreeably to several humble and dutiful Addresses to Her Majesty from the whole Synod, with the most folema Promises to do it; which generally took their Rife from the Lower House of Convocation t feveral of which have been already mentioe ned, and some of the rest may not be improper to . be here recited.

· They have emnessly (they wish they could say as " successfully) apply'd to Their Lordships for more Frequent Sessions, in order to the Dispatch of that

Bufinels, which was expected from them.

They have apply'd to them, near the Chofe of Both the last Sessions, hambly requesting Their Lordhips, that the Synod might address Her Maighty, expressing our Hopes that when we neet again, the Bould to able to answer Her Majesty's Expellawork. With one of which Applications Their Lord. hips were pleas'd to comply, and an Address was presented accordingly, June 1712, wherein are the following Expressions;

We shink our felves oblig'd, bumbly to affere Your Majesty, that at our next Meeting we will use our best Endezvours to give Your Majesty the Satisfaction you are pleas'd to expell, of freing the Matters you have recommended to me, for the Interest of Religion, brought to a

bappy Conclusion.

The Lower House has likewise, at the Opming of a new Meeting, apply'd to Their Lordships, to remind them of Buliness recommended by the Queen, and their Desire that they might forthwith proceed in the Dispatch of it: And this they have done in the most pressing Terms imaginable: particularly, in the Application carry'd up by the whole House on Feb. 8. 1711, when no Business had been fent down from Their Lordships from the 7th of December, during Two Months and Eight Seffions: In which Application they express themselves as follows:

The Lower House of Convocation considering how little was done by this Synad in the long Seffian of the last Year, to answer the just Expeltation of the Queen and the Publick; are under great and just Apprehensions of the daygerom Confequences ebat may redound to Religion, and to the Church, if the remaining Part of this Session Sanda nut be improved to the utmost Advantage. We carneftly introat Your Lordships to proceed in the Dispatch of the Several Hoads of Business recommended to as by Her Majesty; none of which were brought to a Conclusion in the last Year's Session.

And on their Second Day of Meeting, Die

Merc. Apr. 15. 1713, they refolved,

That at their next Meeting they would apply to the Upper House, and defire Their Lordhips to Send down ge Address to this House, congratulating Her Mejesty on Signing the Reace; and that at the same time Their Lordfleips should be put in mind of the ASSURANCE they gave Her Majesty, at the Close of the last Session, that at their neut Moeting they'duse shoir utmost Endagvours to gove Her Majefty the Satisfaction she expected, of seeing the Matters she had recommended to them, brought to a happy Conclusion.

They have, over and over, profess'd to Their Lordships, That they had rather join to promote the Publick Good, then to dispute about Forms and Methods.

And in Fact, it does not appear, that there has been so much as one single Dispute between this

House and Their Lordships, these Three Sessions, concerning their own Privileges; but what has

happen'd of that Nature, has been about Her Ma-

• jefty's known Prerogative; which, as well by their being Her Majesty's Liege Subjects, as by the Act of

Submission, the Clergy think themselves indispense-

They bound to maintain; as will foon appear more et large on the last Head. And they have been,

from their Birst Meeting, so tender of any thing

that might occasion Disputes, or that might clash with

with any of Their Lordships Claims, that they have never had one Intermediate Session, or continued their Session over, or short of Their Lordships Days, whatever Right they have, or may think they have, so to do, in common with any other Lower House of Convocation. And, to conclude, when they thought proper to address Their Lordships for a Committee to prepare Business, during the Interval of Sessions, they have desir'd it might be done, by a Joint Committee of both Honses, and by Her Majesy's Leave. Tho' Their Lordships thought not sit to give them any Reply to this Application.

Seeing then all these Endeavours have been used, and yet no more Business has been done, during

• and yet no more builders has been done, during • these Three Sessions of Convocation, concurrent.

4 ly with the Parliament: Not so much as One of

those Six Heads dispatched, which Her Majesty has fo frequently and so earnestly recommended a

there must needs have lain some very strong Obsta-

cles in their way, which have hitherto hinder'd the

Lower House from Proceeding.

6 And what those have been will appear under

The THIRD HEAD. VIZ. The Obstructions this House has met with to their Proceeding in Business.

Which perhaps have been as Various, and of as Complicated a Nature, as most Synods ever had to struggle with; tho' the Chief of them may be reducible to the following Heads.

may be reducible to the following Heads.
And it's well if the First and Strongest of 'em,
were not owing to an Opinion, imbibed by too
many, if not that no Good is to be expected from
the Clergy, unless by their Divisions, at least that
the Convocation is now no part of our Constitu-

tion, or a very antiquated and infignificant one;

as they would fain have it, or make it. In order

to this, they would divest it of all its Powers, and 'make it Weaker than any Christian Synod ever was; 'so as to have (a) Nor any Jurisdiction originally to cite before them any Person for Heresy, or any other Spi-ritual Offence, but that these ought to be cited, censured, and punished (only) in the Ecclesiastical Courts of the

Archbishops, Bishops, &c.

'These People are jealous, of allowing Convocations to have so much as any Alliance, much less. ' Concurrence, with the Parliament. They'll be very hardly brought to thank any for telling'em, That the Convocation ought to be - summon'd, together with the Parliament, as in all times has been accustomed; or that the Consultations of the Clergy (there) are particularly requisite to repress the late Scandalous Attempts, to scatter and propagate Loose and Prophane Princip'es, tho' that was one chief Reason of calling them to-gether. 'They can never be persuaded, tho' the QUEEN her felf, with her Judges and Council should never so often assure 'em of it, That as the Law stands a Jurisdiction (not only) in Matters of Heresy (but) hkewise Condemnation of Hereticks, is proper to be exercised in Convocation: And tho' the Convocation has been always look'd upon by the Lawyers to be both an Ecclesiastical Court, and an Ecclesiastical Parliament, 'This is to them very strange Language.

Now while fuch strong Prepossessions lye at the bottom, as we find they do, by our Convocation Books; we need no longer wonder at any thing that

we have feen happen.
2. The long Difuse or Infrequency of Convocations, for some Years last pass'd, must needs have been a considerable Obstruction to their Proceedings, as it must, at first especially, be an Occasion that many of their Members, who might differ in the Means, tho' they agreed in the End, would

^{. (}a) Vide Opinion of Sir Salathiel, &c.

be to feek as to the Porms of Proceeding, which is no more, than what must of Necellity have happeh'd, in the fame Circumstances, to any other Assembly of the same Nature; wherein some Forms are of absolute Necessity for the Dispatch of Business: And this Difficulty has been render'd the Greater, because the Original Books of the Lower House, which contained the Forms and

Precedents of their Acting, were unhappily confum'd in the dreadful Fire of London; which

Forms could be no ways recovered, but by a long and laborious Search for them, under the Rubbish

of Antiquity thro? feveral Ages.

But besides these general Obstructions to Business, this Convocation has met with many Particular

Lets, ever since the first Meeting. Such as,

I. The unfortunate and long Indisposition of their President, His Grace of Canterbury, the Continuance whereof has quite funk the Third Head of Business in Her Majesty's Letter; as its Beginning, together with the Sickness of the other Commissioiners appointed by the Queen, was an Occasion of the Delay of Business, till the Licence could be re-new'd, with an Addition of new Commissioners; when Committees were revived, and the Synod refum'd'what they had before enter'd on

II. A Second was the Disputes about the Bist Form of an Address, sent down from Their Lordfhips, after our receiving the Queen's First Letter, of Dec. 2. 1710, which Address the Lower 'House could not pass, while they were persuaded' that due Notice was not therein taken of Her Ma-' jesty's Gracious Letter, nor due Thanks return'd' for the same, notwithstanding Their Lordships 6 short Addition, when the Lower House had prefum'd to put them in mind of it; which only con-

fifted of the following Words, after they had 'own'd the Receipt of the Letter, For which we re-turn our most Humble and Dutiful Thanks. 'For before the Application of the Lower House, it had been forgotten to put in any Thanks at all: And after it, Their Lordships adhered so long, while the Lower House, after two or three Mellages, were fill consulting of some Expedient, for coming to a . Temper with Their Lordships, till this became impracticable (as has been already noted) by the Printing the faid Address.

III. We may reckon as a third Obstruction, a Dispute that was raised in the Lower House, about The Panger which some urged, they might incur, should they, aft in Matters wherein they were impower'd to proceed by the Royal Licence, without knowing whether the Archhishap, or same one of the Bishops of the Quorum, mere attually in the Upper Hause. This served to spin out a little Time; but 'twas loop over: For tho' the Question was refer'd to a Committee, it was agreed without any further Struggle, that we might act in those Cases without any Danger; as indeed, if it had been otherwise, we should have been in Danger of never acting at all: And even those, who first started the Objection, when they heard the Attorney General's Opinion, who was privately consulted about it, were satisfy'd and concluded by it.

IV. A fourth Obstruction was from the long Disputes in the Lower House, tho' not between them and Their Lordships, about the Power of the Pro-Locutor to appoint a Substitute in his Absence, which took up much Lime, and runs thro part of both the Books, as it did many Sellions. Till it appear'd to the House on the whole Matter, after the Review and Debates of many Precedents, That the Taid

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faid Substitution was unexceptionable, and agreeable to former Precedents. 'And tho' the Debates on this 'Head were some Hindrance to Business, for which we may thank those who rais'd it, and sought it out to the last moment; yet there is this Advantage accruing from it, That thereby the Right of the Prolocutor to substitute, even without Application to the Lords, when for so short a Time, which was all that was then claim'd or practis'd, has been set in so clear a light, that 'tis reasonably to be presum'd, it will for ever silence all Objections for the suture, on the like Occasion.

V. A Fifth we may reckon, the long and unfortue nate Disputes about the 'two Representations, which took up a considerable part of our Time; and being on the very First Head of Business, might seem but an indifferent Omen to our future Proceedings. 'The Case is already stated under the 2d Head: to which it may be added, that when the Lower ' House, heard nothing of the said Representation from Their Lordships; tho' they had waited until April the 25th, they then refolv'd to remind Their Lordships of it, who were still silent till the 16th of May, almost Four Months after Her Majesty had recommended this Matter to Both Houses; when the Lower House were surprized, with what might properly be call'd another Representae tion, exceedingly different from that which had . been unanimoully agreed on before by the Joint Com-· mittee of Both Houses, without any References to it, or Objections against it, which is the Customary Method in such Cases. Neither would Their Lordships comply with this Method, when humbly desired to do it by the Lower House; and the Reafons why the Lower House could not part with that first Representation, which was so unani-mously agreed to by the Joint Committee, and come

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come into that which was fent them down by a few of the Bishops, towards the End of the Session, appear so plain on their Books, that they could fearce fail of satisfying any Judicious and Impartial Peruser. However this took up much of their Time, tho to no purpose; for the Committee appointed to compare the two Representations, found it imprasticable to do it so as to make them both bear together.

'VI. A Sixth was a Doubt which had its Rife from the Upper House, and was sent down from

'Their Lordships, Feb, 1711.

Whether the present Convocation may continue to act, by Vertue of Her Majesty's Licence already granted; or whether they shall need to be further authorized by Her Majesty (after two Licences, and two Letters.)

On which the Upper House desired His Grace of Canterbury, to procure the Attorney General's

' Opinion.

Whereupon the Lower House came to this Reso-

' lution, to be fent up to Their Lordships.

'That this House was of opinion, that those 'Words in the Royal Licence, From Time to Time, during the present Parliament, 'do extend to the Continuance of this Parliament, until it shall be determined; and that therefore, they were legally impower'd to proceed.

And made a very earnest Application to Their Lordships, already mentioned, that they might

forthwith proceed accordingly.

And when Their Lordships had received the Opinion of the Attorney General, to which that of the Lower House was entirely conformable;

Their Lordships were immediately concluded by it.

VII. But the greatest Difficulty which has yet occurr'd in Convocation, was a Doubt contained in this

Question, Whether the two Houlas of Gomucation, having made some Pragress in Business, wishout finishing it before whe Internentien of a Royal Prorogation, may, when reassembled, 80 on in the Dispatch of that Business, where they last off at the time of such Proregation; or are abliged to begin it de novo, in like manner as the two Houses of Parliament?

The Substance of this was carry'd up to their Lordships, Feb. 22 1711, with an Application of the Lower House, That in their humble Opinion, the Meshods of Proceeding on Business recommended to this Convocation, by Her Majesty, will be more unexcapsionable, and more likely to bring Matters, to an happy Conclufion, if whatever Head of Rufiness was enter'd upon be-fore the Royal Prorngation, be now begun de novo, than of me should proceed where me left off, At the Close of the last Session of Parliament.

When Their Lordships received this Application, they fent down to the Lower House the Reasons why they had gone on with the several Papers lodged in their Hands, as they were left with them, and

could not consent to hegin anam.

This being a matter of the last Importance, and the Lower House apprehending there was Danger the Convocation might involve themselves and all the Clergy in a Premunire, if they should proceed in Business where they lest off, notwith-Randing a Royal Prorogation; and this being a Matter of Law, wherein the Attorney General must. be the Prosecutor, if we incurr'd the Penalty apprehended; the Lower House resolved to state the Cafe, and put the question to the faid Attorney General, as Their Lordships had done just before, in a Matter of much less Difficulty; which was done by the Prolocutor at the defire of the Hopfe, who likewife laid before the Attorney General a full Abstract of the Bilhops Paper, and what else was proper for him to perule, in order to his understanding

e derstanding the Question, and forming and deliverling his Judgment upon it. And the Prolocutor's on the full Examination of the Matter in the Lower House, had the Thanks of the House given:

him for his Faithful and Prudent Conduct therein.

"To this the Attorney General return'd his An-' fiver aplange, wherein he fays, He wonders that this fould be now a Queffor; the Convocation having been alpuper looked upon by the Lamyers to be an Ecclefinficial Parliament, and an Ecclefinstical Court, and like to the Parliament; and the Adjournment or Prorugation thereof to have the like effect as in Parliament; NE. That by the Birst; Me Mariers depending there were continued; by the Last, all'Matters were likewise continued, where the Proceedings were as in a Court; but not where the Mutter's were' before them as an Ecclefiastical Parliament; otherwise an' Adjournment and Prorogation were the faint, which they never were. That Hen Majesty's Writ to prorugue is in the Nature of a Commission, and a Provogation thereby is Her Majesty's, and not the Archbistop's Prorogation. And upon the whole he thought it more safe to begin again, than to proveed in the Method proposed!

This Opinion of the Attorney General was carry'd up to the Lords, but they were not conclu-

ded by it, the they were in the former Cafe,

where they themselves had defired it. They sent down Papers with feveral Precedents of the Arch-

biliop's continuing the Synod, together with all the Business of it from one Sellion to another; most of

which Precedents were before the Ast of Submiffe-

on; and one or two fince; as that of Bonner, in an

unfettled State of things, whence they feem'd not'

much to be depended on, in a Matter of fuch Im-

bortance to the whole Body of the Clergy:

Fhe Lower House took Their Lordships Raper into their Serious Confideration and tho they .. could not be fatisfy dwith Their Lordings Reasons,

" yet; that nothing might be wanting on their part,

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did on March 19. appoint a Committee to confult of some Expedient for the Convocation's Proceeding on Business, notwithstanding the Opinion of the Attorney General. Whereupon an Application was presented to Their Lordships, on that Head, with an Account of what Papers the Lower 4. House had ready (which shews their Method could onot have much retarded Business) earnestly desiring the Reception of them; or if they'd not take them all, that they would receive such as Their Lordhips pleased. But their Lordships could by no Inducements be prevail'd on to receive any, except the Act about Charity Schools (which we have heard nothing of fince 'twas carry'd up, May 24. 1712.) and the Form for Confecrations. here dropt at once the Business of Rural Deans, of e regulating Commutations, and of providing Terriers, and a Final Stop seems to be put, during this Parliament, to all Proceedings recommended to this Convocation by the Queen's Letter.

VIII. Another Obstruction to Business we may well reckon their Lordships sending down the 3d Edition of a Paper, to the Lower House, May 14. 1712. Declaring that such Persons as have been already baptized in or with Water, in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; tho by one who was not a proper

Administrator, ought not to be baptized again.

'The Lower House debated this a while, and at length resolv'd not to enter into the further Consideration thereof during the Sitting of this Convocation. And one of the Reasons they gave for it to their Lordships was, Because of the Inconveniencies manifestly attending such a Declaration, especially at a time, when the Authority of the Christian Priesthood was openly struck at by some, and the Advantage of an Episcopal Mission so much undervalu'd by others. And 'tis' no wonder the Lower House could not look on such a Declaration as the most proper way to repress 'those

those loose and prophane Principles and Practices, which Her Majesty says she call'd the Convocation together to remedy.

IX. ' Another Obstruction to Business, during this last Session (if it was then ever intended that we should proceed upon any) was an Address their Lordships sent down to the Lower House, which was faid to be to congratulate Her Majesty for the Conclusion of the War by a Peace. This the Lower House could not agree to, for much the 4 tame Reasons which oblig'd them to differ from 4 Their Lordships in their First Address, already e mentioned; besides one stronger Reason, which did not hold against the former. Nor did the Lower House proceed rashly, or hastily, in their Separate Address, which they were forc'd into on this Occasion; tho' they knew that Adherence was all they must expect, instead of the least Condefcension or Compliance with their reasonable Defires. For after they had fent a new Plan of an Address to Their Lordships, heartily congratulating Her Majesty upon the Peace, requesting their Concurrence with it, and shewing the Reasons why they could not come into the Form sent down by Their Lordships; after they had waited several Sessions, without any Answer, and saw they were adjourn'd for long Intervals from Time to Time, and at last from May 13. to June 3.

Then (and not till then) they came to a Resolution, That considering the House could have no opportunity to address Her Majesty, together with the Bishops, in any convenient time, they would address separately; and that the Form of the Address should be that which was sent up to Their Lordships from the Lower House on the 29th of April, whereof Their Lordships had yet taken no notice to this House. 'Accordingly, the Lower House were forced to address by themselves, that they

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might be no longer wanting in that Respect, which was due to their Supreme Ordinary, by whom they were graciously receiv'd. And Their Lord-ships Address was at length printed, as their former, without having been at all presented by them to Her Majesty.

X. Another great and general Obstruction to Business, must needs have been the Infrequency of Sessions, or Days of Meeting (occasioned by the great Length of the Adjournments) which has run thro' the whole Sitting of this Convocation; they having had no more hitherto, than about Eighty such Sessions, for these Three Years, whereas the Commons have had in one Year during that Interval, many more Adjournments, as they have had about Seventy this last Year, when Their Lordships have let us have but Nine Days of Meeting in Convocation.

XI. The last Obstruction to Business, that will be s needful to be mentioned, has proved a very great one, and included many more in it: And that was a Doubt rais'd by Their Lordships, on occasion of Mr. Whiston's Books, Whether the Convocation has Power to convene and censure Hereticks and Heresies. On this Their Lordships, without the Lower House (concerning which the House has complain'd) apply'd to Her Majesty, desiring her, out of her known Zeal for the Honour of God, and the Good of the Church, to lay the Question before her Judges, &c. Declaring in their Address on that Occasion; That they think themselves bound in Duty, to God and Her Majesty, &c. To call the said William Whiston before them, in order to his Amendment, or Exclusion from the Church. Her Majesty did as was desired; and Eight of her Twelve Judges, and her Attore ney and Sollicitor General, gave it under their · Hands.

Hands, That all their Law Books mentioning a furisdiction in matters of Herefy, and Condemnation of Hereticks, as proper to be exercised in Convocation, they are of Opinion, that such furisdiction, as the Law new stands, may be exercised by them.

Which Her Majesty repeats in her Letter already mentioned, No. 7. and says, That she is pleased to find that they have such Jurisdiction; and
presses them to exercise it. On which Their Lordships did at length censure Mr. Whiston's Opinions,
but could never be prevail'd with to circ him in
Person; tho' he himself has sufficiently clamour'd to
be hearn; tho' the Lower House have most earnestly, more than once, press'd Their Lordships that
he might be circd, particularly in their Application

of Febr. 8. 1711. in the following Words;

Sentence was pass'd in the Synod on several Heretical and Dangerous Positions, contained in the Rooks of Mr. Whiston, and that Sentence was transmitted to Your Lordships on Jan. 12. 1711. Since which he has again afferted those Dostrines in Print, with greater Boldness, loading the Synod with the Reproach of having carry'd Matters privately, and declaring his Hopes that the Members begin to be sensible of their Error, &c. We are so far from deserving this Reproach, or being patient under it, that we heartly desire to see that Synodical Judgment publish'd to the World, after the most proper and solemn manner, and to proceed, as soon as Your Lordships shall think sit, towards convening and censuring the Person himself, for his open and repeated Blasphemies.

And (lastly) though Their Lordships now found themselves at Liberty to do it, by the Opinion of a Double Majority of the Queen's Judges, and Two of her Learned Council; and only her Learned Judge Sir Salathiel, with Three others, were of Opinion, that they might censure his Heresies, but not his Person: Whose Weight prevail'd so much with Their Lordships, that they directed their Pra-

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Ctice accordingly. And it is no wonder that rash
Writer has hereby been embolden'd, more and
more to insult the Orthodox; and (as well as
others who differ but little from him) with the utmost Licence and Impunity, to spread abroad his

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^c pernicious Errors.

Thus far the Report of the Committee, to which the Publisher Subjoin'd what follows:

An the whole: If the Falts are true, which are here afferted (as it will be hard to difprove any one of them, and He Who is Greater than all, knows there is no wilful Error in them) it may be left to any equal Judge, whether the L. H. of Convocation have not discharg'd not only what they have actually promised to Her Majesty, but even what they would have promised, if they might have had leave to do it. Whether they have not diligently endeavoured to answer Her Majesty's Godly Purposes in assembling them; particularly directed their Consultations against loose and prophane Principles, and their Abettors; and taken all proper Measures to put an End to their Disputes about Forms of Proceeding.

By the Lower House is to be understood the Very great Majority of it, during this last Convocation. And if that is cleared, by a plain Narration of Matters of Fact, there is no need of reslecting upon others, as there would be but little Pleasure in doing it. If the Reader judges for himself,

when he fees and weighs the Evidence, we can't help it. That must, after all, be but a Joyless Triumph, which might arise from the Mistakes of

any, whom (altho' we never own'd them Infallible, yet) we ought, as far as ever we can, to essem and reverence; and 'tis the hardest Choice in the

World, when we cannot wholly shield their Reputa-

tion (at least not of all of them) without sacrificing or betraying our own. Whether we may ever again have the like Opportunities put into our Hands, for strengthening and adorning the Exterand Frame of that Spiritual Building, which was ever All-glorious within, is only known to Him, Who perhaps faw, that if all had been accom-plished which feem'd fo near in View, and which Good Men have for fo many Years, for several Ages, so ardently desired, we might have been but too happy. In the mean while, it ought to be no finall Satisfaction to those who have most fincerely wish'd and labour'd to see these good things happily effeded, notwithstanding the contradictory Censures they must prepare to meet with, for having done too much, or too little, that they have perform'd what was their Part, to the utmost of their Power, and delivered their own Souls; that possibly their Pains may not be wholly useless, at least to future Generations; and, that if their Aims and Intentions herein have been right before God, they are assur'd of a brighter Reward than this World can give them. And if there be any, who have either alted, or obstructed Action with other Views and other Aims, they are left to their own Reflections, and must bear their own Rurthens.

While the Two Houses of the Convocation of the Clergy of the Church of England, were thus unhappily divided, the Rulers of the Church of Scotland had under their considerations the Dangers from Popery and the Pretender; as appears by a Paper which they caused to be printed, intitled, A Seasonable Warning warning of by the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, concerning the Dan-Scotland, of ger of Popery. At Edinburgh, Aug. 19. the Danger of 1713. Which was as follows:

We Popery.

NE the Ministers and Elders met in the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, taking to our serious Consideration, the inveterate Malice of Papilts against the true Reformed Religion, and their restless Endeaveurs, particularly at this Time, to ruin the Protestant Imerest in Britain and Ireland; the great Multitudes of their Priests, and other Emisaries now trafficking, for carrying on this pernicions Design in several Parts of this Country, whereby many are already perverted; their setting up openly in divers Places their idolatrous Worship, notwithstanding of the Penal Laws which stand in force against them, and of Her Majesiy's Royal Proclamations, and what the Judges have done in their Circuits: And their behaving themselves with as great Insolence as they have ever shewed since our Reformation from Popery. And likewise considering the bold Attempts of other Adversaries to our present Constitution both in Church and State, who do openly in our chief Cities. and through the whole Country, promote the Interests of a Pretender to the Crown, who has been educated in all the Maxims of Popish Bigotry, and French Tyranny. And we being touched with a just and deep Sense of these dange-rous Evils, do judge it our Duty, from the Zeal we owe to the Glory of God, the Preservation of our Holy Religion, the Safety of Her Majesty's Government, and the Welfare of our Country, and in pursuance of the Trust committed to m by the last General Affembly, to give this publick, solemn, and serious Warning to all Ranks of Persons, of the imminent Danger which doth arise from such pernicious Practices, not only to our pure and holy Religion, but to our civil Rights and Liberties: And therefore we do earnestly obtest all good Protestants and Lovers of their Country, that they look diligently to themselves, that they be not deluded by the subtle Devices of a Popish and Jacobite Party, who so manifestly design to bring m under the Yoke of the said Pretender, and thereby to deprive us of these most valuable Blessings, which. the

the Great and Gracious God did so remarkably restore unto

us by the late glorious Revolution.

To preserve the Members of this National Church from being imposed upon by the cunning Artifices of such Enemies, we beseech them to advert how deceitfully many of thefe, who are notoriously disaffected to Her Majesty's Government, do with great Appearance of Zeal, espouse and promote the Ceremonies and Liturgy of the Church of England, a Yoke, which neither we nor our Fathers were able to bear, and which this Nation would never submit to, even in the Times of Prelacy; but altho' the Jacobite Party do now so earnestly contend for that Form of Worship, to impose upon, and ingratiate themselves with the Church of England, and to strengthen themselves under her Protection, their Zeal for the Pretender is such, that they generally omit the Prayers in that Liturgy for our Severeign Queen Anne, and the illustrious Princess Sophia, upon whom the Succession to the Crown is settled; which Succession we cannot but esteem to be, under God. the greatest Security, not only to the Protestant Interest in these Lands, but also to the Resormed Churches abroad, in whose Safety we are consident, that all Good Protestants will find themselves deeply concerned both in Point of Duty and Interest.

It is also very common with that Party to make a great Out-cry, especially at distant Places, where the Matter is not so well known, of their having suffered grievous Persecution, meetly because of their being of the Episcopal Perswasion. This is another of their Artifices, to procure unto themselves the more Favour and Countenance from others, whose Protection they abuse, to prosecute their malicious Designs against the Revolution Settlement: But this their Clamor and Noise is altogether groundless; and, blessed be God, we can appeal to the Consciences of all who know our Coudast, that we have never since the late happy Revolution, in the least returned the Severities, and unparallel'd Cruelties which we met with, when they had the Ascendent; and which we, from their present Temper,

as well as their former Behaviour, may reasonably conclude, they want nothing but Power, to renew against the Ministers and Members of this Church.

Moreover, that they may diminish the just Aversion of the People of this Land, to the Pretender, and engage them to his Interest, they do artfully suggest, and with the utmost Considence assure them, that were he once advanced to the Throne, he would procure the Diffolution of the Union. But we intreat all Persons to consider, that whatever be the Inconveniencies, and dangerous Consequences of the Union, to our civil Interests. or the Grievances of this Church under it, against which last, noth the Commission and General Assembly gave solemn and seasonable Testimony, particularly, in the Tenth Act of the General Assembly, held Anno 1712. intitled, An Act approving the Representations and Addresses by the Commission, concerning the Toleration and Patronages; yet to expett a Remedy to thele Grievances from the Pretender, is a most gross Delusion, and a Bait which we cannot think will catch any, but such as are very simple and credulous; yea, supposing there were Ground, as there is none, to expett that the Pretender would dissolve the Union, if he should come to the Throne; yet that could not be at all a sufficient Compensation for the dreadful Train of the far greater Evils of Tyrannical Government, and the Abominations of Popery, which we could not but meet with, if a Person of his Principles and Education should be advanced to the Supreme Authority; any Remedy that can be looked for from him, would prove so much worse than our present Disease, that we cannot but be consident, there is none who have any just Concern for our Religion and civil Liberties, which ought to be dearest to m, as Protestants and free-born Scots-men, will suffer themselves to be deluded with such an absurd and infnaring Institution.

We find it necessary also, to guard People against ano-

We find it necessary also, to guard People against another artful Contrivance of the Jacobite Party: These of them that profess to be Protestants, that they may the more easily engage People into their Measures, do frequent-

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ly declare that they are for a Protestant Succession, and with great Assurance advance as a thing to be rely'd upon, that the Pretender hath declared, or will declare himself to be a Protestant: But this is an Artifice so gross, that it can take with none who do consider that the Pope doth dispense with the fairest Profession of the Protestant Reli-gion, and the most solemn Oaths to maintain it, for advancing that hellish Design of extirpating the Protestant' Religion, under the opprobrious Name of the Northern Herefy; and which all Papists, by their cruel and bloody Principles, are obliged to endeavour, to the utmost of their Power, upon Pain of Damnation; and likewise that a Prince who is a Papist at Heart, may the more securely. and easily work the Ruin of our Religion and Liberty, that his Designs are covered with the Mask of a Protestant Profession. Such therefore, as are impos'd upon with the fond and groundless Expectation of the Pretender's being Protestant, and would thereupon intrust him with all our valuable Concerns, must needs bewray the greatest Ignorance of the Principles of Papists, and the many obvious Instances of their Dissimulation; nay, bring upon themselves not only the Brand of Weakness and foolish Credulity, but the heinous Guilt of Treachery to God, from their inexcusable running into Measures, which so manifestly endanger our holy Religion, and the happy Constitution of this Church, founded upon, and agreeable unto the Word of God.

Wherefore we do with the greatest Earnessness recommend to all the Ministers of this National Church, that they endeavour by publick and private Instruction to impress the People of their respective Charges, with a due Sense of the Evil of Popery, and extreme Danger these Lands would certainly be brought into, of being over-run with it, and ruin'd with Oppression and Tyranny, if ever the LORD should for our Sins permit the Pretender, educated and consirmed in the Popish Religion, and instructed in all the Principles of Arbitrary Government, to bear Rule over m: And we do seriously export all the Mi-

nisters and Members of this Church, to testify all Duty and Loyalty to our only rightful and lawful Sovereign, Queen Anne, and a zealous Concern for the Protestant Succession, settled upon the most Excellent Princes Sophia, Electores, and Dutchess Dowager of Hanover, and the Heirs of her Body being Protestants: And we judge it proper at this Occasion to put them in mind, that this Illustrious Princess is the Grand Daughter of King James the Sixth of Scotland, and First of England, by his Daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, for whom and her Children our worthy Predecessors did publickly pray in their Churches, and whose Husband was descended of a Family which was remarkably zealous for the Glorious Work of Reformation, and who himself did endure great Trials of Affliction for his stedsast Adherence to the Protestant Interest.

When we therefore consider, how much both our present and future Safety, under GOD, doth depend upon that Family's succeeding to the Crown, and how necessary the Preservation of that Succession is, for the Security of our Religion and Liberties, and of all that is dear to us as Men and Christians; we cannot forbear, at such a Juncture as this, to excite our selves, and all of our Communion, to testify, as blessed be GOD they have hitherto done, a firm and steady Adherence thereto, under whatever Discouragements may happen; and in the Bowels of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we do seriously obtest and beseech all Ranks of Persons, to hear the Voice of God's Dispensations to us in these Lands, and to humble themselves deeply under the many sad Causes and Tokens of the LORD's Anger, to prepare to meet our God, by turning unto him with all their Hearts, by unfeigned Repentance and Reformation of Life, fleeing to the Blood of Sprinkling for Reconcilition, and making known our Requests to GOD with all Prayer and Supplication in the Spirit, that He would continue, strengthen, and perfect what He has wrought for us, disappoint the Designs and Hopes of a Popish and Jacobite Party, preserve the happy Constitution of this Natio-

nal Church, sanctify and remove our present Grievances, and teach us to profit by all His Dispensations; that He would prosper and bless our Sovereign Queen Anne, direct her Councils, and prosper her Government; that He would preserve and maintain, against all its Opposers, the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, and eminently bless that Illustrious Family; that He would give Wisdom to all Ranks to understand the Times; that He would pour out a Spirit of Love, of Power, and of a Sound Mind, upon Ministers, that with one Heart and Mouth they may strive together, in Defence of the Doctrine, Worship, and Government of this Church, as now settled; that He would bless them with Meekness, Wisdom, and Zeal, to avoid all Divisions that bring a Scandal upon Religion, endanger our Constitution, and expose us to the Scorn of our Enemies, and give them Advantage over us; that the Lo d would give to all of us, to reflect seriously on the many Troubles which have afflicted our Zion, and to shun carefully all those Sins which procured them; that He would keep up in our lively Remembrance, the great Danger our Religion and Liberties were in, when in His Infinite Goudness He surprised these Nations with the late happy Revolution, a Mercy never to be forgotten, without the highest Ingratitude to GOD, and the greatest Injustice to the Memory of the late glorious King William, which ought always to be savoury to all good Protestants; that He would enable us to make a right Improvement of that Gospel Light and Purity, which we now enjoy, and work in us a Temper of Spirit fuitable thereto; that He would make serious Godliness and Christian Charity to flourish amongst us, and give all Ranks one Heart, and one Way to fear Him, and keep His Commandments always, that so our Gracious God would dwell in our Land, and that it may be well with us, and our Posterity after us.

The abovewritten Warning and Exhortation having been read at sundry Dyets of the Commission, and fully consider'd, was this Day veted and unanimously approved by them. And P 2

they appointed the same to be forthwith printed, and Copies thereof to be sent to the respective Presbyteries, and recommends to them to take the most effectual Way to publish the same to the several Ministers and Members of this Church. Subscribed by

WILL. WISHEART, Modr. JO. DUNDAS, Cls. Eccl. Scot.

Mr. J. Baker Towards the latter End of July, Mr. taken up about John Baker, Bookfeller, was taken up by a Latter, relating to the Bill Three Messengers and a Constable, by a of Commerce. Warrant from one of Her Majesty's Se-

cretaries of State, for publishing a Pamphlet, call'd, A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons, to his Friend in the Country, relating to the Bill of Commerce: With a true Copy of the Bill, and an exact List of all those who voted for and against engrossing it. But upon his declaring the Author, who, it seems, was of the Tory-Party, he was discharg'd. However, many were surprized to find the following Paragraph in the Post-Boy of July 30th. viz.

Paragraph in ⁴ Several Persons have been lately seiz'd the Post-Boy ⁶ by a Warrant from one of Her Maje-about it. ⁶ sty's Secretaries of State, for printing

and publishing a Seditious Pamphlet, call'd, A Letter from a Member of the

Calld, A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons to his Friend in the

House of Commons to his Friend in the Country, relating to the Bill of Commerce;

which Book manifestly tends to foment Divisions between Her Majesty's good

Subjects; for it contains Scandalous Re-

flettions upon Lords and Commoners of

the most Unblemish'd Characters; and

the Author under the Disguise of a Tory,

endeavours to deceive the well-meaning

Reader;

Reader; tho' it would be very easy to Vol. VI. prove, by several Arguments out of his Book, that he is in reality a virulent Whig. I shall only mention this one. viz. That he fays, There were 120 Whigs that voted upon a certain Occasion: Whereas, it is very well known that there were never half that Number in the House this Parliament. Now the Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing is discover'd, there is no doubt but he will foon be hunted down: In the mean time we thought it proper to give all honest Gentlemen this Advertisement,

As this Paragraph stirr'd up the Curiosity of the Publick, fo was it look'd upon, by many, as a Contrivance to promote the Sale and Dispersing of that Pamphlet: Which feems very probable, not only from the Principles of the Author, but also from his Reflections on the Arguments used on Both Sides, in relation to the Bill of Commerce. For having given his Readers a Copy of that Bill, he proceeds in this manner:

To beware of Counterfeits, for such are

abroad.

' The Objections offer'd at the Bar by Abstract of the Merchants (and you may be fure the Pampblet.

we heard little new in the Debates, because 'twas apparent their Speeches

were the collected Sense of the Whig-

e Party, and composed not only of every Are gument that every Whig Merchant in the

c City could devise, in Relation to Trade, e but of every Cavil and Querk

L-mer's Law Education, or W--le's

s Sophistry could furnish them with against

Vol. VI. ' the Treaty is felf) and were in Substance 'no more than these:

'The Argument of the First City Orae eer (who appeared for the Turkey Company) stript of its Decorations and fine Periods, was this, That though the Company did chiefly expert our Woollen Manufactures, and with them purchased Raw-Silk in Turkey; and though, by this Treaty, they had a new and a very considerable Market, viz. France, opened to them to 4 vend that Raw-Silk at; nevertheless it * would be prejudicial to us, because the French would be able to work up that Silk cheaper than our own Manufacturers could. Was ever any thing more abfurd, than that this Company should comblain of what their own Champion could not but acknowledge was beneficial to them, lest it should be prejudicial to the Weavers; and how true even that Suggestion was, you will hereafter fee, by the Confession of him who ap-• peared for the Weavers. But, indeed, we were told in the House, ⁶ That this Petition of the Turkey Company, was not agreed to by the most confiderable Traders, but they were out-voted by such as were only Free of · that Company, and had either left off, or never did Trade thither at all. Nay, the very Persons who had been drawn in to fign the Petition, became afterwards so sensible of their Mistake, and · fo justly resented the prevaricating Be-

haviour of this Person they had sent to appear before us, That the very next Day in a General Court, they abridg'd

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him in the Perquilites of a Place he held Vol. VI. under them above 100 l. per Annum:

This fingle Instance may serve for a

Sketch, to shew you how the rest of the 4 Petitions were obtained.

. The Second Person, who pretended to appear for the Spanish Traders, was a Fellow of the most grave composed Impudence I ever yet faw; for after fpending but a Minute or Two upon that Subject, he was pleased wholly to take his Leave of it. and entertain us a good Two Hours with his, or rather the Gentlemen's above named Scruples and Ca-* vils, against the whole Body of the "Treaty its self in every Part of it; But as this was calculated to amuse, or rather inflame without Doors, than convince within, I shall take no further Notice of it. Besides that I suppose you will see both this and the former in Print as foon as the House is prorogued.

'The Two next, in behalf of the Ita-Lian Trade and the Weavers; as they had more Modesty, so they kept more to their Purpose, and indeed answered the · Questions they were asked very fairly.

"The Gentlemen for the Italian Trade ed did not so much insist on the Wine Trade of Italy, and indeed few People now drink the Florence Wines, but those who are pleased with the peculiar Roughness, Fullness, and Strength of them, and they will always for the same Roasons hereafter drink them, 66 fo that the Consumption will be but little " different: But he chiefly urged, That as the French could manufacture Silks cheaper than

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" than the Italians, so if they were permitted to import them here upon equal Duties, the "Italian Silk Trade would be wholly loft." "But when he was ask'd, whether if Part of the present Duty was taken off from raw " and thrown Silk imported from Italy, that " would not make them sufficiently Amends, be ingenuously answered. That if a propor-* tionable Encouragement was given for the Importation of raw and thrown Silk, the 46 Italian Merchants could have no reason to c complain of any Difficulties put upon their wrought Silks, because the Other would be at least equally advantagious to them.

'The Weaver, after he had, with a great deal of Pains, made it plain to himfelf (and perhaps very truly) that the French could a little underwork us in wrought Silks; being ask'd how much, and in what Proportions, fairly owned, That as to the black Silks, viz. the Luftrings and Alamodes, we were come to fuch a Perfection in making of them here during the long Continuance of these 'Two last Wars with France, that the forefent Duties they now stand charged with, fully secure us from any Possibility of having any brought hither from France, so as to be fold so good and so cheap as what we can make here our felves; and as to the other wrought Silks, according to his own Computati-

on, there was not above Twenty Pence difference in a Pound of Silk, which

when wrought, may be worth from Three to Twenty Pounds Sterling, and

furely the Freight, Factorage, and Infufrance or Hazard, which is all one, will

more than turn the Balance on our Side, Vol. VI.

as the Case now already stands.

The Throwster's Complaint was of the same Nature, and the same easy Remedy would have served to have made every one of these Complainers easy, even as they themselves confessed, viz. The taking off a small Duty from raw and thrown Silk imported; and to that Purpose was a Bill preparing, if we in our great Wisdoms had not put a Negative

upon this Bill's being engrossed.

So that the whole Complaints of all the Traders that appeared before us, except the Portugal Merchant's, were ca-" pable of this very easy Cure, and perhaps wanted not even this. His Come plaint indeed was of another Nature, and wholly related to the Wine Trade; but his Arguments were very odly e grounded, not upon Facts, but upon Presumptions and Apprehensions, which he takes and lays down, pro Confesso; whereas, when they come to be examined, neither of them can be allowed; and I dare fay, when they shall come to be experimented, neither of them will prove true. "He first presumed, or rather afferted very Dogmatically, that if the Duties on French Wines, were lowce ered, to be equal to those on Pottugal . Wines, None of the latter would be imported; and the App chension that was to " follow from this false Postulatum is that then the King of Portugal will prohibit our Woolu len Manufactures from being imported there.

As to the First, 'twas affirmed by several experienced Merchants, that there 124 Vol. W.

always has been, even when the Portuof gal Duties were higher than the French, a confiderable Importation of those Wines; That they always have been and always will be necessary to mix with such Wines of the growth of France, as are too thin and meagre of themfelves; That some Stomachs require them, and some Persons will always, for their Strength, prefer them. To argue * therefore from no Portugal Wines being to be imported, is arguing upon no Foundation at all; for without all 6 Doubt, very great Quantities, if not the 4 whole Growth, will always have a De-" mand and find a Vent here; nay, it was faid by a Gentleman of our House, that he knew a Set of Merchants that would contract to take off the whole Growth of the Wines of Portugal, even after the 4 French Duties should be lowered to an equality. His Premisses being therefore To very far from true, the dreadful Apprehension of ill Consequences must be groundless.

But to cure us effectually of any Sort of Fear of this pretended Danger of a Prohibition, we need only confider in the first Place, whether the Woollen ' Manufactures with which we at present furnish Portugal, are not so absolutely necessary to them, that since they canont be supplied with them at home, they must of necessity, and always will be furnish'd with them from abroad, either ' from us or some other foreign Nation. 4 And then whether there is any other Nation that can furnish them with those

Goods

Goods better or cheaper than we can, or Vok VI. that will trade with them upon fo good

Terms as we should, even after the Pas-

fing of this Bill.

As to the First, That the Portuguese do want all Sorts of Wollen Manufa-

ctures, That they cannot be supplied

with them at home, and confequently

must from abroad, will admit of no

doubt: the only Thing therefore that is

to be confidered is, whether there is

any other Rival Nation by whom we

may be in Danger of being supplanted

in this Trade, even tho' we should diso-

blige the Portuguele. 'Twill be readily granted, that we neither have, not can have any other Rivals in Trade than our two Neighbour · Nations, the French and the Dutch, and it may be as easily proved, That neither of those Nations can supply any foreign Market with Wollen Manusactures so f good and cheap as we can: 'Tis indeed, delimour only, or banter to affert the " Contrary; therefore, unless either one or both of them can Trade with Portugal upon better Terms than we shall, I mean by that, unless they will take off more of the Goods of the Growth of Portugal in Exchange for fuch Goods as they fould fend thither, than we shall we can be in no Danger of being supplanted

we are at present in Possession of. And as to the Terms of Trade upon f an impartial View, we shall find we

by either of them in this Trade, which

have equally, if not more the Advantage of them in that respect, than in the

Vol VI. Goodness of our Manusactures: The Commodities of the Growth of Portugal are Wines, Fruits and Oils, and of these the French can take off none, being better supplied with them at Home; the Dutch, they take no Wines (I darefay there is not a Ton of Port Wine drank in a Year throughout the whole Seven Provinces) and very little of their Oils or Fruits; whereas we shall always take offtheir Fruits and Oils, and a very great quantity at leaft, if not all their Wines; fothat could either the French or Dutch supply them with Wollen Manufactures, equally good and cheap (which is abfurd to imagine) Yet upon the very Terms of Trade, we must always be the Nation preferred by Portugal; for the French taking off none of their Wines, Oils, or Fruits, must in return for whatever they fhould fend them, he paid all in Money; the Dutch taking off none of their Wines, and but very little of their Fruits and Oils, must be paid near all in Money; whereas we should, if this Bill had passed, have taken off great Quantities of their Wines, almost all their Fruits, and all their Oils, and be paid the Residue only in Money.

And now I have fent you the Bill it felf, and the Objections in their full Force (though abbreviated) that were e made against it, and some few of the many Answers I heard made to them, 6 I here send you a true List of those who voted for and against the engrossing it; and I believe amongst all those who were for the Bill, you will not find one who

who is not in the true Interest of the Vol. VI. 'Church, Queen, and Country; and by the Sketch I have given you of the Are guments on Both Sides, you will fay there was no need of any other Biass than an impartial Judgment, to direct his Voting: But amongst those who were against the Bill, you will find 120 W-gs, to whom every Thing is right which they think may help to distress the present Administration, or promote the Interests of their strict Allies the Dutch, who received the News of this Bill's being rejected, with inex-' pressible loy; for now our Trade to France must be carry'd on through Hol-· land (unleis this false Step be retrieved) And added to them, you will find the · Names of several worthy good-natur'd Gentlemen, whose Reasons for voting as they did, were apparently foreign to the Question, or such as I hope will not ' last to the next Sessions, when the fame Question may be proposed. Some ' you will find Knights of Shires, fallly amus'd and terrify'd with the Loss of their future Elections; some personally f piqued at the Ministry; and others, either by Interest or Relation, strongly. attach'd to One or Two LORDS, who took the Liberty to follicit against it. ' However, take the Lists of them as follows, which are very exact: In the · latter, I have taken the Pains to distinguish the Skeep from the Goats; those. • mark'd with (W) are Whigs; with (Wh) are very Whimsical indeed; and the rest, I hope, are very far from

The POLITICAL STATE Vol. VI. Loft Sheep, which were hardly ever known to straggle from us but this once, and, I hope, never will again. After the Lifts (which, having been often printed, shall not be inserted here) the Author continues thus: 'I think I ' have now gone a great Way towards fatisfying you in what you defired of me: You have the Bill, the Arguments, and the Names of the Persons that voed for and against it; but the most difficult Task yet remains, which is to give you an Account how it came to pass that some of our Friends should be fo zealous, as to follicit against it: But here (as I told you in the Beginning of " my Letter I would) I shall decline fending the Reasons assigned by some People here; but as to Facts which I am fully fatisfy'd are true, I shall very freely communicate them to you. must know then, that the chief Fomenters of the Opposition to this Bill, were onot Members of our House, but Two noble Peers, who have all along hitherto been of the Church Party, and I hope for their own Sakes will, notwithflanding this Slip, continue so. both are in Her Majesty's Service: The one enjoys a very profitable, as well as honourable, Post in Ireland; other, besides a Post of great Honour

> on this Side Trent, and his Wife's being of the Bed Chamber, has a very considerable Pension of 1200 l. per Annum, • which, I dare fay, in every Body's Opinion, besides their own, is at least equal to any Services they either have,

or hereafter can do the Crown. The Vol. VI. former indeed is a Man of Lively Parts, fuch as are fit, and have carry'd him through the First Scenes of Life with 's fome Sort of Reputation: They were Funds fufficient to enable him at the University to argue with the Sophs. and pun with the Young Masters of Arts with Success, as they did afterwards to wrangle with Walpole in the . House of Commons; but now being unfortunately come to have a Seat in the 4 other House, upon the Strength of this unpolish'd Wit he sets up for a deep Po-Ilitician, would fain be in the Secret, and fancies himself equal to the Rirst Posts in the Government, though nothing can be more apparent, than that whenever any Thing that can be called Business, is stirring in either of the Houses, let the Waters that are moved be ever so shallow, he always contrives to get himself out of his Depth in them, and plunge some few of his implicit Followers along with him. The other, though a Lord, were it not for his numerous Relations. would never be considered any further than his Title. As to his personal Qualifications; his Pride and Self-sufficiency, whilst his Cousin, the Duke of L-ds, was alive, to point them right, have been useful to the Publick; but now they are left to his own Management, we must take our Chance, it feems, whether they are to do Good or Hurt for the future. To these Two Lords a declamatory Commoner, haVol. VI.

ving chose for his Supporters Two Lawvers (Persons of as little Interest, and as ill heard in the House, as any that ever opened their Mouths there) was pleas'd to join himself: And this Detachment of the Two Houses, o' their own Heads, without confulting their Friends, undertook to acquaint the Men in Power, that it was the united Opinion and Defire of the whole Church Party, that this Bill might be DROPP'D for this Sessions, and Revived in the next; which they believing to be a real Embally from the whole Body of their Friends, were prevail'd with to give their Consent to; and accordingly this wife Scheme of dropping it was for some Time handed about the House, but very ill relished by

⁶ Men of Sense and Spirit. ' It appeared at first highly unintelligible, why fo good a Bill, wherein the Interest of the whole united Nation was so much concerned, should be carry'd on so far with so much Unanimity of Friends, and then dropp'd, without any other Reason assign'd, than gratify and pacify the Whigs. But when the true Reason came to be known ' (which was not till past Twelve a Clock on that very Day the Question was put for engrossing or not engrossing) that two or three Persons had been undertaking it, without any fuch Commission e given them from the whole Body of the

Tories, it was treated with greater Contempt and Indignation than it had been before with Wonder and Amazement;

, and

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and the Gentlemen were resolved not to give up their Country, and the Trade, which is the Life and Soul of it, without appearing in the Desence of it, and disavowing their being to be bargained for at a private Meeting by two or three Persons, to whose Underfandings very sew Poople, indeed, ought to give up their own.

How Men, pretending to any Sort of Character or Integrity, could do this, or why they did it; I told you above I should onot take upon me to assign the Reasons: I promised only to send you Matter of Fact; but imust tell you too, that when they had gone thus far, they thought themselves now obliged to carry their Point, tho? ata-'ny Rate, and setabout it with the same Unfairness they first undertook it. They complained loudly, that the Ministry had dealt doubly with them (which poison'd not a ' few) when in truth they dealt doubly with their Friends : And yet notwithstanding all their Artifices, in conjunction with 120 Whigs, and above so Whimskals, they carry'dit but by 9 Voices; and had the Secret come out but one Day fooner, they had lost it by above five times that Number.

As to the Lords, how far they are exalted with their Triumph I know not; but our Commoner, who, I think, acted only weakly, and was drawn in by the Lords (as the next best Sense to not doing a wrong I hing, is not to persist in it) made the best and earliest Retreat from it he possibly could, by moving within a Day or two for that-Address to the Queen, which thanks

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' Her Majesty for the Care she had taken of us in Her Treaty of Commerce, as well as Peace, and acknowledging that Treaty to be a very good Foundation for a very advantageous Trade for her Kingdoms. And herein not only his " Umbra's followed his Motion, but every one of our Diffenting Brethren, who had been led away either by falfe Apor brehensions, or faile Suggestions, or Mistakes of their own, very greedily ' joined, and we were united again to a Man, which plainly shews how very Mallow their Aversion was to the Bill it e felf: And, I hope, neither the weak Independents of One or Two Lords or Commoners, who fally think them-' felves wifer than their Neighbours, or Private Undertakings, which are still worse, will ever venture to make such a Breach amongst us again, which, had it not been to be retrieved, would have proved so fatal to us now.

Thus far the Author of the Letter: Let the Impartial Reader determine, whether he speaks the Sense of the Whigs, or Tories, as to the Bill of Commerce; and whether he is a Whig in Masquerade, who while he pretends to defend the Arguments of the Tories, does but expose their Inconsistency and Weakness?

54 Convills in Newgate pardon'd.

I omitted taking Notice in my last, that on Friday the 24th of July, the Queen was pleas'd to shew her Royal Clemency, by signing a Pardon for 54 Convicts that were in Newgate; and amongst them, some Plotters against the Life of the late King William III. About the same

fame Time, the University of Oxford Vol. VI. gave Mr. Lawrence his Master of Arts Degree, as a Mark of their Fayour and Regard to him, for his late Writings, as Master of serting and maintaining the Invalidity of Arts at Oxford.

The Infalment of the Knights of the Garter, which was order'd to be about the latter End of July, was put off to the 4th of August, upon Account of the Lord Treasurer; who, being either The Ld. Treasindispos'd with the Gravel, and a Fluxion surer indison his Eyes, as 'twas given out; or who to pos'd avoid importunate Crowds, retir'd, for some Days, to Wimbleton, a Country-Seat He retires not far from London, belonging to his to Wimble-Son-in Law, the Marquis of Carmerthan; ton for some where His Lordship held private Conferences with his Confidents, about the weighty Affairs of the present Conjuncture.

On the Last Day of July, Her Majesty's The Houshald Houshold Troops, confishing of Four Troops Troops of Life Guards, Two Troops of view'd in Horse-Grenadiers, Six Troops of the Hide-Park. Royal Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Peterberow, and Seven Battallions of Boot-Guards, were review'd in Hide-Park, by the Duke of Ormand. The Day proving very rainy, it was Six a-clock in the Evening before the Queen came to the Review; at which were present a great Number of Persons of Distinction, both in Coaches and on Horseback, and a wast Multitude of People, The Duke d' Aumont, Embaliador Extraordinary from His Most Christian Majesty, did not miss this Opportunity to wait on the Queen;

Vol. VI. and alighting from his Horse, entertain'd Her Majesty, by her Coach-Side, about an Hour; and among other Civil Expressions, complimented both Her Maiesty and her General, on the fine Appearance

Embassador's Compliment to the Queen.

The French of the Troops, which, he faid, he was glad to see where they were. The Day before, the Duke d'Aumont, accompany'd by feveral Foreign Ministers, went to see the wonderful Two Engines for Extinguishing Fire, invented by Captain Nicholas Mandel: which were to be feen at Fisher's

Wharf, Milbank. On the 3d of August, a Chapter of the The E. of Pcterborow e-most Noble Order of the Garter was held leded Knight at Kensington, in which the Earl of Peterof the Garter. borow and Monmouth, was elected Knight The next Day, the most Six Knights Companion. of the Garter Noble Henry, Duke of Beaufort, Captain install'd

Windfor. Aug. 416.

45 of Her Majesty's Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners; Henry, Duke of Kens; the Right Hon. John, Earl Poulett, Lord Steward of Her Majesty's Houshold; Robert, Earl of Oxford and Barl Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain; Thomas, Earl of Strafford, First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty of Great Britain and Ireland, and One of Her Maiesty's Embassadors-Plenipotentiary at the Congress at Verecht, by his Proxy, Sir Jacob Banks, Kt. (who was constituted by the Sovereign's special Appointment for that Service) and Charles, Earl of Paterborow and Monmouth, General of the Marines, were severally installed Knights Companions of the most Noble Order of the Garter, in the Chappel-Royal of St. George, within the College, in the Cattle of

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of Windfor, by the most Noble John, Vol. VI. Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, Lord President of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council; George, Duke of Northumberland, Constable of the said Castle of Windsor; and James, Duke of Ormond, Captain General of Her Majesty's Forces. Knights and Companions of the faid Order, commissioned thereto by the Sovereign, under the great Seal of the Order, with the usual Ceremonies. The Atchievements of Six Deceased Knights, viz. The Duke of Leeds, the Earl of Rochester, the Dukes of Newcastle, Queensbury, Bedford, and the Earl of Gedelphin, having been first offer'd by the Knights Commissioners; and after all the Ceremonies in the Chappel were perform'd, in the accustom'd manner, the Sovereign's Commissioners aforesaid, and the New Installed Knights, with their Caps and Feathers on their Heads, and their Trains born up by the Children of the Chappel, proceeded from thence down the South Isle, by the great West Door up the North Isle of the Church, to the Chapter House (where Sir Jacob Bancks, the Earl of Strafford's Proxy, left his Mantle) and thence to the Dean's Lodgings, preceded by the Poor Knights, Prebends, Officers of Arms, and the Officers of the Order; from whence the Knights Companions and Proxy (by Reafon of the Rain) were carry'd privately in their Chairs to the Castle, without any Ceremony, where there was a most splendid Dinner provided in the great Guard Chamber, at the New Knights Charge,

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Vol. VI. Charge, for the Knights Commissioners, the Officers of the Order, and a Numerous Company of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality and Distinction, who were present on this Occasion; and a Table was also provided for the Officers of Arms, who attended at this Solemnity.

Dr. Cave The same Day, dy'd the Reverend and Learned Dr. William Cave, in a very advanced Age, at Windsor, where he was a Canon. His Works, but principally his Lives of the Apostles, Lives of the Pathers, and Primitive Christianity, as they evince his great Knowledge of Antiquity, so are they justly esteem'd the best Books written upon those important Subjects.

† Aug. 5th The next † Day, in the Afternoon, The Queen re the Queen went from her Royal Palace at moves to Kensington to Hampson-Court, where, on the 8th, a general Council was held, in which a Proclamation was order'd to be publish'd for dissolving the Parliament, and declaring Her Majesty's Intentions of speedily

* July 7th calling a New One. The Day * before it
The Lord Bp. was made publick, that a Conge-d'Elire
of Bristol was passing the Seals, for translating John
translated to Was passing the Seals, for translating John
the See of Robinson, Lord Bistop of Bristol, Lord
the See of Robinson, Lord Bistop of Bristol, Lord
the See of Robinson, Lord Bistop of Bristol, Lord
bassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, to the See of London.

On the 10th of August, about Five The Queen goes a-clock in the Afternoon, the Queen so Windsor, went from Humpson-Court to Windsor, *Aug. 17th, where, a Week * after, Her Majery, in Proclamations Council, order'd a Proclamation to be pustor, a New blish'd, declaring, That, with the Advantagement.

Farliament. vice of her Privy Gouncil, the had given with the Advances.

Order to the Lord Chancellor of Great Vol. VI. Britain, to issue out Writs in due Form, for calling a New Parliament; which Writs should bear Telle the 18th of August, and be returnable on Thursday the 12th Day of November next fol-6 lowing. The next Day another Procla-" mation was signed, in order to the electing and fummoning the Sixteen Peers of Scotland; for which Purpose all the Peers of Scotland were required to meet at the Royal Palace of Holy-Roud-House in Edinburgh, on Thursday the Bth Day of Galoberi

We may here take notice, that about Three Weeks before, several Letters Leners fom to figured H. (the Initial of the Prime Mis divers Corps nister's Family Name) were sent by the rations in fa-Post, to the Mayors and other Magistrates vour of the of divers Corporations, recommending Interest. so them to promote the Interest of the · Precender in the next Elections, which, 'twas suggested, would be acceptable to the Queen and Ministry. Some of these lieteers having been transmitted to the Secretaries of State, the following Advertisement was inserted in the Gar zetre of the 1st of Angust, viz.

Wherene several Treasmable Letters, sun'd He have larely been fent by the Post, to the ment in the Mayors and other Magistrates of divers Cor-Gazette pormions: Her Mujefty is pleased to promise bout the sume. her mest Gracious Parden to any Person who food discover, to either of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, or to any Jufice of the Peace or other Magistrate, the Author or Authors of the Said Letters, and those who have thus dispersed the same, for

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any Crime of which he or she may have been guilty, by concealing his or her Knowledge thoreof, or abetting the same: And as a further Encouragement to Juch Discovery, fuch Person shall have a Reward of One Hundred Pounds, to be paid upon the Conviction of the Offender or Offenders.

DARTMOUTH

Both before and after the Diffolution of Pampblets publish'd on Borb the last Parliament, the Party-Writers Sides, to pre- were bufy in preparing the Minds of the Minds of the People to favour their respective Interests People against in the ensuing Elections. Besides the Letthe new Ele-ter from a Member of the House of Com-Lions.

mons, &c. beforemention'd, which was generally suppos'd to be writ by a Tory, some other Pamphlets and Papers were publish'd on the same side. Nor were the Whigs less industrious in supporting their Declining Interest. Besides, a Pamphiet intitled, Cautions to those who are to chuse Members to serve in Parliament: To which is added a List of those that veted for and against the Bill of Commerce; formerly written by an Eminent Hand, and now · adapted to the present Conjuncture of Affaairs; they publish'd also a Letter to a West-Country Clothier and Freeholder, concerning the Parliament's rejecting the French Treaty of Commerce, by Way of Advice in the

a ensuing Elections; with a List of those that vo-West-Country ted for the Bill. Which was as follows:

SIR.

Am very much surprized at the Endeavours which you tell me some People use, to give the Country an ill Opinion of those who voted against the French Treaty of Commerce. I cannot but think it very strange Usage to honest Gentlemen, who have done such great Things for her Majesty and the Nation, that they should not only be represented as Persons very ignorant of what they ought chiefly to understand; but also be sent down into their Countries, against the New Elections, with the odious Mark of

Whigs and Whimsicals.

The Parliament, 'tis true, out of their Affection, Zeal, and Duty, to Her Majesty, has given whatever she has desir'd: Millions after Millions; and not with a Dessign to carry on a War, but to procure a Peace; the Advantage of which was to have been the Enlargement and Increase of our Commerce; but now that the Peace is made, and the Treaty of Commerce laid before them, they have not understood, we are told, the advantageous Conditions that have been obtain'd, but have prevented the Nation from reaping those Benesies it so much wants. If, aster this Manner, and in this Light, the Memory of this Parliament is to be continued to Posterity, I believe sew will envy them the Glory their Names will meet with in suture Azes: But I hope a short Space of Time will convince all Mankind, that the Parliament was not deluded in this Matter, and that they have not deserved the Treatment they have met with.

Besides, I must desire you to restet, in what a tender and respectful manner the Parliament proceeded on this Occasion: Formerly, when a certain Treaty appear'd to them to carry with it but a bare Possibility of Prejudice to no very considerable Part of our Trade, they voted the Person that made it, and all those that were any ways concern'd in it, Enemies to their Country; but how differently have they chosen to ast in this Assair? They only refus'd to repeal a great many Laws in order to render this Trea-

those who voted against the Bill, there are, to their Honour be it spoken, some Worthy Patriots, who voted for their Country, against their Places; Eight and Twenty Knights of Shires, and those some of the most considerable in Great Britain; almost all the Representatives of the great Trading Cities, such as London, Bristol, Exeter, &c. and the Remainder of the 194 are chiefly Gentlemen of Great Estates in Land, or very Rich Merchants. Besides, it appears that the Majority of those that were absent, was on the side of the Whigs.

But I will not insist any longer upon the Reception the 8th and 9th Articles have met with in England; I will inform you what Opinion they have of them in France, and this is another Way to discover to which Kingdom they are beneficial. The Mercator boldly assirms, that the People in France look upon them as prejudicial to them, and that they are very glad they were rejected by the Parliament. But the Paris Gazette, which gives an exact Account how the Bill was thrown out, does not take notice of that Transaction as a Subject of Joy to France, but insmuates, that the Bill was to be brought in again Next Session.

But I have a better Evidence in my Hands than any Gazette whatever which will put this Matter out of Dispute; and that is an Authentick Paper which was deliver'd at the Door of the House of Commons, the Day of that Memorable Debate; an Abstract of which fol-

ľows.

April last, the Hatches seal'd up by the Admiralty and Custom-house, and the Masters were summon'd to appear before the Judge of the Admiralty, to see their Ships condemn'd for the King's Use, and to pay 3000 Livres Fine, each of them, pursuant to a Law, as they say, bearing Date the 6th of Sept. 1701, Which prohibits almost all English Goods, except Corn, Eatables, Ge. But a French Ship called La Marie Therese, Francis Maillard Master, came also from London at the same time with us, loaden with the very same sorts of Goods, and was deliver'd; as also several Hamburghers did deliver there the same Species of Goods, without any Difficulty. Three of us Masters went up to Paris, and apply'd to Mr. Prior. who spoke about it to the Ministers of State there. but in vain.

All we could learn there from the Merchants in Rhoan, why we should be us'd so severely, and other Nations permitted to bring in those same Goods, was, That they believ'd if the Parliament of England had fettled the Trade with France, we should be more favourably us'd; and till then nothing must be brought from England, except Corn, Oxen, and fuch like.

This is another fort of Evidence, than the Mercator's bare Word; here is a Master of a Ship in Person come directly from France, to lay his own, and his Fellow Sufferer's Case, before the Parliament, and ready to certify upon Oath, if requir'd, that the French us'd the English worse than any other Nation, because the Parliament had not pass'd a Bill for confirming the Treaty of Commerce; and that the English might expest to be better us'd, if they would pass a Bill, but not till then. Here you see, that 'twas in vain that Her Majesty's Minister apply'd for Redress to the French Court: The Master faid that Mr. Prior could not so much as procure the Liberty for the Ships to return home again. What has been done since, in order to get them discharg'd; whether the Merchants have prov'd the Goods to belong to French Men, or whether they are yet discharg'd; or not, I cannot tell. Hew vastly different is this Information from the Mercator's Trash? Does it not sufficiently prove, That the French know very well that this Treaty is advantageous to them, since they use their best Friends so ill, in order to get the 8th and oth Articles confirmed by our Parliament?

But suppose now, for Argument-sake, we should allow what ought not to be allow'd, and what can never be prov'd, viz. That England may get by such a Trade with France; that it will not prove that it ought to be epen'd upon these Terms, unless it be first made appear, that we shall not suffer more by the Loss of our Trade in other Places. Some say we got 2 or 300000 l. a Year, during the last Peace, by the Trade with France; but tis very well known, we have got above a Million a Year by that with Portugal during the War, and 'tis as certain that these two Krades, according to the present Treaty of Commerce mith France, are inconsistent : They are fet oppositie to one another, as appears by a Treaty made some Years since with Portugal, entirely upon account of our Wooken Manufactures, for which I cannot bely praising the Persons that made it, bonnever I may differ from them in other Matters; for 'tis the Portugal Trade mbich has supported us in the War, and without it, we Mould foon find the Peace more burthenfome than the War. But I need not talk to a West Country-Man, who for several Tears, has feen fo much Portugal Gold in the Fairs, Markets, Shops, and amongst the Gentlemen's Stewards, bom advantageous the Portugal Trade is to England: Fou will be glad to bear it is every Day encreasing, which the Mercator himself owns, and tells us it is owing to the Portuguese baving lately discover'd prodicious Gold Mines. And is it not worth our While to Trade with such a Nation? Those Gold Mines have not been discover'd for them, but for us, if we are use so mad, as 4t all Adventures, to break so beneficial a Treaty. By this Treaty, the King of Portugal confents that we shall have his Gold for our Woollen Manufactures; but by the present Ticay Treaty of Commerce with France, the French are to have our Money for their Wines, Silks, Brandys, &c. The Trude with Portugal will Maintain, nay, Enrich our Poor; that with France, as stated in the Eighth and Ninth Articles, will Beggar and Undoe our Gentry. But here I will let you have a Translation of the Portugal Treaty, signed at Lisbon the 27th of December, 1703.

Article 1ft.

IIS Sacred Royal Majesty of Portugal promises for himself and his Successors, That Liberty shall be given to bring into Portugal for-ever hereafter Woollen Cloths, and all sorts of Woollen Munusatures of Great Britain, in the same manner as used to be done before they were prohibited by the Laws, upon this Condition ne-

vertheless.

Art. 2. To wit, That Her Sacred Royal Majesty of Great-Britain and Her Successors, shall be obliged in all times to come, to admit the Wines of the Growth of Portugal into Great-Britain, in fuch munner, as that at no time hereafter (whether there be Peace or War between Great-Britain and France) any thing more be demanded for those Wines by the name of Custom or Duty or by any other Title, directly or indirectly, than two Thirds of the Custom or Duty which is demanded for the same Quantity, or Measure of French Wine, whether those Wines are brought into Great-Britain in Hogsheads or Casks, or in any other Vessels; but if this Abatement of Customs which is to be made, as is aforesaid, shall be pre-judic'd in any manner, or abouth'd, It shall be Just and Lawful for his Sacred Royal Majesty of Portugal to prohibit again the Woollen Cloths, and the reft of the Woollen Manutactures of Great-Britain.

Thus it appears plainly by this Treaty, That if the Duty upon Freach Wines had, pursuant to our Treaty of Commerce with France, been made equal with that of the Portugal Wines, this great Branch of vur Woollen Trade wad been cut off; for not the Woollen Cloths only, as the Mercator

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Mercator falfely rsferts, would have been prohibited. but also all the other Woollen Manufactures of Great-Britain, which is one of the Reasons why our good Friends the French so much desir'd to see their new Treaty take place. They are not ignorant of the vast Advantages we make by the Trade with Portugal, in the Disposal of our Woollen Manufactures: They have Woollen Manufactures for them, and want to be making a Treaty with them, as soon as we have broken ours; for at present all sorts of French Woollen Goods are prohibited in Portugal. Monsieur Menager offer'd the Portugal Ministers at Utrecht, above 7 Weeks since a Plan of a Treaty of Commerce which is very advantageous to Portugal-The French will give them Leave to bring their Tobaccos into France, by reducing the Dutys immediately (NOT HEREAFTER) and their Sugars of all forts, without such Restrictions as the English are obliged to, provided they will come into the Treaty last men-tion'd: They use all manner of Arguments to induce the Portuguese to it. One of the French Ministers, at the very same time that their Friends here were pressing the Parliament to break in upon the Portugal Treaty, told the Portugal Plenipotentiarys, that the ill Treatment of the English, in having no Regard to that Treaty, and also upon other Occasions, might justly provoke Portugal to Slight such ungrateful People, and join with France in the Treaty proposed. In short, tis plain, that the Trade with Portugal is the only Trade that can be of the greatest Importance to England, especially now that Spain is in the Hands of the House of Bourbon. For this Reason, I was extreamly glad, when I heard that the King of Portugal was one of the first that came into Her Majesty's Measures, in relation to the Peace. This gave me good Ground to hope, that some Advantages might be gain'd for him, as a Reward for that young Prince's resigning himself entirely to Her Majesty's Care: Besides, a consider'd of how much Consequence every thing that related to him, must

must be to us in point of Trade, which when the Peace took

place, was all we had to concern ourselves about.

I am forry, that that King's reasonable Demands have not been yet comply'd with by Spain; but when the Spanish Ambassador arrived at Utrecht, the Portugal Ministers told him, that their Master would be now contented that all the Flaces which had been taken on either side, during the War, might be restor'd, and that they were ready to give up the Towns which they had taken upon the Frontier's of Spain, provided they might have their Settlement upon the River Plata in the West Indies, of which the Spaniards had disposses'd them in this War; that that Settlement was of the utmost Importance to Portugal, because it gave occasion to a Communication between Brazils and the Country of Peru; and that this was far short of what a certain Potentate promis'd to procure for them, when the Plan of Peace was first propos'd: In answer to which; Monsieur Monteleone told them, That he wonder'd they Should be so much impos'd upon; for he could assure them; that that Potentate engag'd to M. Menager, not to intermeddle in the Affairs of Portugal; and that 'twas upon that Confideration, that the King of Spain had yielded up two or three Places. Monsieur Monteleone must needs be mistaken in this Matter; but yet 'tis certain that the Spaniards att as if they depended upon it, for at the Place of Treaty, they make every Day more and more unrea-Sonable Demands; and on the Frontiers of Portugal, they have got together a considerable Army, and are ready to set down before Campo Major, as the Portuguese apprehend; but we are very well affured that the King of Spain has made the most solemn Promises not to attempt any thing against Portugal, and therefore Endeavours are used to perswade them to be easy, and no doubt they will be taken care of; for should that Country and its Dominions fall into the Hands of the House of Bourbon, that Family will then be in Possession of all the Gold in the World, a Metal which her Majesty, who holds the Ballance, would foon perceive the Weight of.

For my part, you know what an Admirer I have all along been of the new Administration, how much I have applicated their Zeal for our Church, and the Service they have done to their Country, in putting a stop to that Flame of War which must at last have consumed us. I heartily desire that the Peace may be lasting, but I can never pretend to say, that all the Advantages have been agreed to for our Trade, that might have been wished, except there are others not yet publick. However, that is the Bussness of a House of Commons, and I hope we shall get such a one as understands Trade, otherwise I fear we shall be very great sufferers. In the mean time, it were to be wished, that her Majesty, who, I am certain, has very much Goodness and Compassion for her People, had heard half of what was said against the French Treaty of Commerce in the House where she spoke last.

As for those who are not content to give the Ministers their due Praises for having overcome all the Obstacles to this Peace, which had been so industriously and artisticially contrived to prevent it; as also for recovering the Nation's Credit, and almost entirely suppressing Faction; but who must, besides all this, be declaring, what great Advantages we have gain'd in Trade; I desire them to take this short and general View, how our Trade stands at present.

The Fishery of Newsoundland, and all the Islands thereabouts, tho' secur'd by an Ast of Parliament to the Nutives of Great-Britain, * exclusive of all others, is given, in great measure, by the Treaty of Peace to France and Spain, and all the said Islands are entirely given to France; so that those two Countries being our chief Markets for Fish, and they being now to be supply'd by their own Ships and their own People with that Commodity, our Fishery is almost become useless to us; for if the French and Spaniards have no occasion for our Fish, what signifies it upon how good Terms we can carry them thither, supposing we had in that respect, all we can ask? If they had been under a Necessity, as formerly, to have taken our Fish, because

^{*} Sec 10 & 11. Guil 3. cap. 25.

because they could have none any where else, they must have done all they could to have encouraged us to have brought it to them.

As for our Trade with Spain, we we get in the Dark about it; for tho it was underflood that her Majesty would have laid the Spanish Treaty before the Purliament, and altho it was brought over ten Days before the Proregation, yet it was not made publick.

Our Trade to the South-Sea is a metr Embrio, and the Affair of the Affiento, as appears by the additional Article of the Contract, has hitherto been carry'd on with

great Lois to the Persons concerned in it.

The Trade with France is such, as even this Parliament cannot come into; tho "tis certain they are as much devoted to the Service of those that made it, as ever any Parliament was.

Our Trade to Turkey and the Streights, must every day decrense, by reason that the French now send great

Quantities of Goods thicher.

As for our Flanders Trade, of which so much has been talk'd, we know not what to think on't, while 'eis curry'd on by an Army of 14 or 15000 Wen, an Expense which 25. in the Pound will not afford, and consequently these Trades, under such Circumstances, cannot be of any Advantage to the Nation.

But that which must not be omitted, is the Wound which almost all our Trade in general must have received by the 8th and 9th Articles being ratisfy'd; for the it did not succeed, yet the Apprehension of it has pat all Bussiness to a stand; neither is it likely to revive now the Wound is keps open, by the Resolution that is taken to attempt it again. This is the true and only reason of that Denduess of Trade which is so sensibly felt by all fort of People at present, and it must continue till the apprehension of what is known to be so facal to it, be removed; for what part of the World can a Merchant set himself to Irade to, whilf things are in this Fluttuation and Uncertainty? Must not our Cloths and Stuffs be a Drug, when no prudent Person will vertice to provide

provide a great Quantity for the Portugal Exportation, for fear that King should be compell'd to break a Treaty which

we have dealt with in such a manner?

But supposing this should not happen, bow can our Merchants, engage for the Portugal Wines, which must be taken, in part, for the Retnrns of our Wooden Goods, when they can have no Assurance that the French Duty shall not be lower'd before they can have dispos'd of those Wines bere? And this is the State of our Trade with Italy, and Several other Foreign Markets, and consequently Trade must needs be in a miserable Condition, especially amongs these that deal in the Woollen Manufactures.

For the same Reasons, our Home Business cannot but be in a very languishing State; for how can the Shopkeepers employ the Silk Weavers of London, Norwich, Canterbury, &c. or the Linnen-Weavers of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Somersetshire, &c. in order to have a good Stock by them against the next Winter, when no body knows but that a Deluge of French Silks and Linnens may be pour'd in upon them, and all their Stocks be left upon their hands, to their utter Ruin? Rather than run such great Hazards. Merchants and Tradesmen chuse to sut their Mony into Stocks and the publick Funds, which must needs be a great Hindrance to Trade, and an irreparable Loss to the poor Manufacturers, who have nothing to maintain their Familys, but their daily Labour.

For my own part, I must frankly own I am full of April prebensions of the ill Consequence of what has already pass'd in relation to the 8th and 9th Articles; and when I consider, that perhaps the same in all Points may be ratify'd in Parliament (for I am sensible very great Efforts will be made towards it) I den't know what can afford us a more difmal Prospect to our Trade: The pernicious Consequences will be immediately felt by the Nation, the French will in a little time draw all our ready Money from us, and many Thon-Ands of our Poor will be reduced to a starving Condition: The People will never be at quiet till that Law be again reneald; and what a fatal Strife will this be to England? This

This will be like a War in our very Vitals, and infinitely more destructive than any War we have yet been engaged in.

But, as yet, it is in our own Powers to prevent it, and this it most nearly concerns us all to do, by making choice of such Members as are capable of so important a Business as our Trade, and honest enough not to be

byass'd by any Means whatsoever.

If ever there was a Necessity for us to exert our utmost 'Abilitys, it is on this Occasion. We are now, at length, got out of a long and grievous War; we have happily secured our Church beyond all manner of Danger; and we have nothing now to do, but to take care of our Trade, which if we do not, we shall in a little while, be the most Beggarly, and the most Miserable Nation upon Earth, and the Jest of all Mankind, &c.

I do, and always shall, own my self to be a most passionate Admirer of our Gracious Queen, the best of Princes, and all Her Glorious Actions; and so I am of those Able Ministers, She, in Her great Wisdom, has thought sit to employ; and its for this Reason, that I would do my utmost to prevent the Undertaking of That, which, should it succeed, I very much apprehend, cannot but reslect on the Queen's Honour, and prove dangerous to Her Ministers,

and ruinous to Her People.

They are not much acquainted with the World who imagine, that those are most a Man's Friends who are for pushing him on in an advent'rous Undertaking: 'tis often done with a quite different View than what the common People imagine. Thus in the Affair of Dr. Sacheverel, several very good Churchmen, who make now no inconsiderable Figure, appear'd very Zealous for that Prosecution, wisely foreseeing what would be the Event of it; and there are those who are no Friends to the present Measures, who, for the like Reasons, are sorry that this Treaty of Commerce was not ratify'd, as it was desir'd.

To be plain then, Sir, I hope you and all your Friends will spare no Rains to prevent those Persons from being

Chosen,

Chosen, who have already given their Vetes for the 8th and 9th Articles, and that you will pitch upon such to succeed them, as you can depend upon it never will. In the mext place, when you have chosen your Representatives, I hope you will give them ample Instructions, how to secure your Trade with Portugal, to explain and amend your Treaty of Commerce with France, and to examine into all the other Branches of your Trade. You may command them to pursue your Orders; they are your Servants; and formerly you, and none but you, paid them their Wages. Antiently, the Eurroughs always gave Instructions to their Members, especially in Matters of this Nature, of which you are the proper, may the only Judges. Do not be banter'd out of your Senses; be affured, that neither the Church, nor the Prerogative, have any thing to do in this matter. Treatys that relate to Trade only, and to confirm tobich several Laws must be repeal'd, may be alter'd, without derogating from her Majesty's Honour. You know, that even the Barrier and Succession Treaty, upon a Representation from the House of Commons, was alter'd, the that was a Treaty of a mixt Nature, and of the highest Consequence imaginable. Your Trade is yours, your Wives and your Childrens Bread, you are to earn it, and you know best how it is to be done. If you chuse. Members only to give away your Money, and to ratify whatever is laid before them, even in Matters of Trade, this will be more like a Parliament of Paris, than the Representative of the Free People of Britain. Be assured, that if this Treaty of Commerce, as now offer'd in the 8th and 9th Articles, is once confirm'd by a House of Commons, you will never get off from it, neither you, nor your Children's Children; for whatever may be the Event of any future War, as none can be more successful than this has been, and as no body has had so great a Hand in the making of this Peace as our felves, this Treaty of Commerce will always be pinn'd down upon Britain.

If a Clergyman, who, without Reflection, may be supposed not to be deep learned in Commerce; if a Courtier, who, who, you know, is already preposses d, should endeavour to persuade you to all against your true Interest, Remember that you have gratify'd the Clergy, by exerting your self so seasonably and vigorously for our Church; that you have obliged the Court, by approving of the Peace; and now 'tis highly reasonable that you, in your turn, should be satisfy'd in point of Trade. Tou have wifely rely'd on the Judgment of the Clergy in the sirst, upon that of the Ministry in the second; for God's sake, trust to no Body's Judgment but your own in the last.

I must also tell you, that as you have a Right to infruct your particular Members, so you have a Right to apply to the whole Body, when assembled; which if you do not, you can never answer it to your selves, or your Posterities. In order to this, you must be sure to have bumble and modest Petitions ready at every Place against the meeting of the Parliament; for the slinging out the Bill was, in a great Measure, owing to those seasonable

Applications.

I need not tell you, that it is your undoubted Right to address your selves directly to Her Majesty; there are, I believe, sew, or none of you, but have of late been received very graciously by her; and so most certainly you will be again, if you observe the Respect due to so Great, and so Good a Queen; whose Bars are always open to her People's Prayers, as well as to their Congratulations.

I shall conclude with a short Observation upon the Second Paragraph of Her Majesty's Speech, where she is pleas'd to promise that she will apply the Supplies the Parliament has given, as far as they will reach, to satisfy the Services they have voted. This has very much startled abundance of People, because they think it implies, that there will be great Exceedings to be made good next Year; and then, say they, To what Purpose has Two Shillings in the Pound upon Land been taken off, if all the Money that has been given, won't answer the Services for which the Publick Credit stands engag'd? What great Help is it to the Nation, if what is abated this

154 this Year, must be paid the next? Besides, it was bo-ped, that Two Shillings upon Land, the whole English, with the additional Scotch Malt, and the Exchequer-Bills, and the Civil List Mortgage, and the Civil List it felf (which, in Times of Peace, amounts to near a Mil-lion) might have been sufficient to have answer'd all the ordinary and extraordinary Expences of the Government, now we are eas'd of the Burthen of the War, by a safe and honourable Peace; this, I must own, is, altogether, a considerable Sum.

	i i	s.	d.
The Land Tax,	900000	0	Ô
The Malt, without the Scotch, -	500000	0	Ò
New Exchequer-Bills,	1200000	0	0
Civil Lift Mortgage,	500000	0	0
Civil List it self,	စ္ဝဝဝဝ	0	0
	4000000	0	ã

I am forry Four Millions should not supply all the Occa-fions of this Year; but you see there will be a Necessity for a pretty deal of Money to be rais'd, even in Time of Peace, which, I hope, will be a sufficient Caution to you to to take care to chuse such Representatives as will be frugal of the Publick Treasure, as well as mindful of your Trade. Pray shew this Letter to all our Friends, and remember me kindly to them. I am, &c.

> I have inserted this Pamphlet at length both because it was said to be written by an eminent Whig (Mr. W--le) and because it contains most of the Arguments made use of by the Author of the Bris TISH MERCHANT, OF Commerce preserv'd,

The British a Paper, which, about this * Time, beMerchant a gan to be publish'd twice a Week, in Oppublifi'd swice polition to the Mercator, or Commerce retriev'd e Weck.

friev'd, which was at last found out to be Vol. VI. written by Daniel De Foe. About this Time likewise, the Whigs publish'd an-Pampbles: other Pamphlet call'd, Remarks on a Scandalous Libel, intitled, A Letter from a marks on the Member of Parliament, &c. relating to Letter from the Bill of Commerce; in which the Trade a Member with France is consider'd, and the Falsities of Parliaand Absurdities of the Mercator are expe-ment, about the Bill of Commerce. bolders of Great Britain in their approaching Elections, and an exact List of the House of Commons. But the Pamphlet that made Pampbles most Noise, and bore hardest upon the cast'd A Short present Administration, was intitled A History of the ParliaSHORT HISTORY OF THE PARLIA-ment,
MENT; many Thousand Copies of which were, with great Industry, and, at first, with equal Secrecy, dispers'd both in Town, and Country; and afterwards publickly fold. The Compass of this Monthly Collection not allowing me to give you the Abstract of that Pamphlet, I hope you will, for the present, be contented with the Dedication which was ad- The Dedica. dress'd to the Right Honourable the Lord entitle ----as tollows:

My LORD,

WHEN a Man resolves to turn Author, he immediately looks out for some Great Man, under whose Protestion he hopes his Works may come into the World better recommended; and the private Interest has generally a great Instuence in the Choice of Patrons, I was resolved upon this Occasion, without any other Regard, to six upon a Person, whom all the World should agree to have the best Right and Title to this Dedication: And bere it was impossible to be long at a Loss; were I to cele-

brate the Actions: of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Oudenard, to whom could I think of inscribing such an Undertaking, but to the Great General who was known to command on those Glorious Days, and without naming his Name, every Body would agree to whom alone the Honour was due; in commemorating the Three last Winter Campaigns in Parliament, which though not exposed to much Danger, must be allow'd to require some Conduct and Generalship, at whose Feet cou'd I think of laying this Teatile, but at Your Lordship's; and to mention your Name, wou'd be to suppose that the Fame and Reputation which you have acquir'd, by retrieving the Affairs of the French King, was not as well known to all the World, as the Mistaken Glory of the Duke of Marlborough in distressing him. Your Troops, it must be confessed, were good, ready at the Word of Command, to go upon any Attack, resolute and determin'd to go thro' upon all Adventures; but yet as the Glory of conducting them is ensirely due to Your Lordship, I beg leave to lay before you this fort Treatife, which I have undertaken, not out of any Affection to scribling, much less with Hapes of any Reward from Your Lordhip. I will therefore neither prefix your Name, nor subscribe my own; trusting that the World will easily know the one, and hardly guess at the other.

In writing this short History, I have endeavour'd to state all the Facts fairly, and in their true Light, that the whole World may be Judge of the Cenefits they received from the present Parliament, and that all England may see what they have done for the Quiet of these Nations, and the Universal Good, and that the Freeholders may at the next Elestion, if they think sit, make choice of such Men, as are resolv'd to act upon the same Principles, with the same Prudence and Vigour, and under the same (I mean Your Lordship's) auspicious Instance.

No doubt, My Lord, the Expence of Management has been great, but had one short Rule been observed, and had she Members received no more than they truly deserved from

their

their Country, I am of Opinion, the Commons might have been paid, as they are said to have pard the Nation's Debts, without one Farthing Charge'to the People.

Far be it from me to detract from the Honour of that Noble Affembly; but if it were no Offence to Your Lord-fhip's great Modesty, I wou'd take upon me to say, they could never have perform'd so many remarkable Services, had they not firmly adher'd to Your Lordship, and their Monosyllables.

To these therefore, and Your Lordship, the Honour is due, of all that the sollowing Sheets contain; to Your Lordship's great Truth and Sincerity, is owing the present indeseasible Security of the Protestant Succession in the House of HANOVER, and the perset Friendship between Her Majesty and that Illustrious House. To Your Lordship's Zeal for the Establish'd Religion, and Aversion to Fanaticism, is owing the Sasety of our Church; to the Love of your Country, and your deep Skill in Foreign Assaying, is owing the Story of the Peate, and the Ballance of Power in Europe; to your great Wisdom we one the Extension of our Trade; and to your Figilance the Dumo-lition of Dunkirk: In shore, to Tour Lordship's Dexterity and Muniscence; we one what was done in the One House, and to your Eloquence, Perspicatey, and Twelva Peers, whatever was done in the Other.

Thus, My Lord, the Merit of all that has of late been transacted, may be suffly attributed to Your Lordship to There are some, very sew I hope, who may deny Your Lordship these Astribues, and sewer yet, who will be unwilting they show'd meet with their just Reward. I am, Ac.

Strict Inquiry was made after the Author and Printer of this Pamphiet; but with little Success.

About the Beginning of Angust, Mr. Steple, the ingenious Author of the celebrated Papers called the Tailer, Spectator, and Guardian (whom we had Occasion to U 2

Vol. VI. mention * in our Last) having a Call to ferve his Country in Parliament, and a

* Par. 62. Promise to be chosen one of the Reprefentatives of the Borough of Stockbridge, Mr. Steel re- thought fit to relign his Place of one of figns bis Place the Commissioners of the Stamps; which of Commission une communioners of the Stamps; which rer of the was inconsistent with his sitting in the House of Commons. It was generally Seamps. look'd upon as a Piece of Prudence in Mr. Steele, by a voluntary Resignation to forestall a Removal: For, 'tis certain, his Guardian of the 7th of August, gave no finall Offence to the M--v, as appears by the Invectives of the Examiner, of which Notice shall be taken in our Next.

About this time likewise Monsieur Bou-Letter frem net, Refident from the King of Prussia. the King of deliver'd into the Queen's Hands a Let-Prussia to the ter from his Master, whereby His Prussian ste Persecution Majesty desired Her Majesty to join her of the Prote-Good Offices with his, in order to put a flants in Po-Stop to the Persecution that raged against hand.

Account of the Frotestants in Poland; an Account of faid Persecuti. which is contain'd in the following Papers.

Part of a Letter from M. Lolhoffel to the King of

Prussia. Warfaw, July 8, 1713. cannot but with very great Concern, and in all ' Submission, inform Your Majesty of the cruel Persecution that is set on foot throughout this 'Kingdom, against the poor Protestants; who, unless some speedy Remedy be interposed, will have all their Churches demolished in a very few Years, and they themselves will very likely be exterminated by Fire and Sword. For but last Week the Roman Catholicks of the Tribunal of Lublin, put to Death

Death a Profian, born a Subject of Your Majesty. in a very tyrannical Manner, as appears by an authentick Relation of the whole Proceeding, hereto sub-'joined. 'Tis, indeed, a horrid thing that the bare e retorting an abusive Expression uttered against Luther, and applying it to the Pope, should be deemed Blasphemy; that for this and other Actions done 15 Polish Leagues from Lublin, he should be brought to a Tryal in 24 Hours Time, receive Sentence, and Two Hours after suffer Death. The Misfortune is, the Papifts have so managed the Matter, that the Causes of Protestants are carry'd before the Tribunal established against Arians (or Socinians) and when any have a Mind to begin a Process against a Protestant, for any Provocation whatever, they charge him with some Calumny against the Popish Religion; for Proof of which Witnesses enough are to be had, who think it meritorious to swear a Protestant out of his Life and Estate, in which the Clergy of the said Tribunal encourage them. 'Tis before that Tribunal that the Two Protestant Congregations of Wagraw, with their Ministers, are, at this time, summoned to appear, on the Penalty of Imprisonment, and even of Death: In Favour of whom I have written Letters to the Bishop of Luck, to whose Diocess Wagrow belongs, as also to the Waywood of Pluck, who purchased the Lordships of that Town, sub Onere Manue tentionis Ecclesiarum Protestantium, of the Princess of Radzivil, who was first marry'd to the late Margrave, and fince to the Prince of Neubourg, and from whom I daily expect an Answer. Complaints are likewise come from other Churches: Particularly, we have certain Advice, that the Bishop of Cracow and his Clergy are continually persecuting the Protestants, by all Manner of Moe lestations and Artifices, to drive them not only out of the Towns but out of the Country, forbid-6 ding 160

Vol. VI. ding the Magiltrates, under great Penalties, to ad-mit them into the Burgherinip (or to make them · Freemen of Corporations) and enjoining them, Inb Pana Excommunicationis, to force the Procestants in Crason to attend the ordinary Processions. Twas even reported there, that the Processants would be compelled to go every Festival and Sunday, to the Sermons of the Papifts, and twas feared they would likewife foon be forced to go to Mass. In March last the Papiffs burnt a Protestant Church, in the Country near Kerepanowice; and the Lord of the Village offering to rebuild that Church, • the Bishop of Cracow sent him an Inhibition, ordering him to forbear, on the Penalty of a Fine of 2000 Ducats. At the same Time he interdicted the Ministers of that Church, the Exercise of their Functions, on Pain of Imprisonment. Other Ministers were cited for repairing their Churches, with Intention ('twas supposed) to make that a Pretext for depriving them of them. The Priests in their Pulpits railed against the Protestants daily. In a word, that Bishop sought by all Means imaginable to clear his Diocels of the Protestants. have conferred hereupon with Mr. Seat, Envoy of England, who arrived here Yesterday, as also with M. Jessen Minister of the Seates-General; and we have agreed together to intercede jointly in the Name of our Principals, in an Audience of the King, for his Protection of the oppressed Churches of the Protestants, which he is obliged to give

The Relation referred to above.

Swore to observe.

them by Virtue of the Patta Conventa which he

Lublin July 1. 1713. " A certain Captain of the Regiment of Lieutenant-General Rybinski, named Kehler, Native of Pruffia, had two Days ago the Misfortune to engage in a Dispute about Religion with a Lawyer named Wenelowski, in which the latfor August, 1713.

Vol. XI. " ter spoke some ignominious Words of Luther, and the other retorted the same against the Pope and " his Adherents; whereupon the Lawyer went and accused him to the Tribunal, who instantly dispatched 60 Gentlemen to seize the Captain and bring ec him directly before them. Where the Vice-Marfhal of the Tribunal asked him whether he had " spoken such Words of the Holy Father? Which he not denying was commanded to deliver his et Sword; but being in extreme Consusion, it hapmed that the Scabbard not coming easily out of the Belt, and he plucking at the Hilt, the Sword came " half out: This was interpreted to be drawing his Sword against the Vice-Marshal, and brought a 6 Shower of Blows upon him, after which he was " sent to Prison. Upon the Noise of this, the whole City cried out against all the Dissenters, that they deserved to be beheaded, impaled, burnt, ee Presently the Captain was visited by a Crowd of ec Priests of all sorts, Franciscans, Carmelites, Domionicans and Jesuites, as a condemned Criminal, to ec dispose him for Death, against whom he defended c himself so well by the holy Scripture, that they said he must have eaten all the Bible he was so full of its "The next Day his Inquisition or criminal Process was begun and foon pertected, in the following " Manner.

I. " He was charged, That when he had the Comis mand of the Guard of the Tribunal, he was very c rigorous in exacting in a military Manner the Exciles (or Contributions for the Sublistance of the Guard) in the Suburbs; and particularly that he " had caused Children and big-bellied Women to be 66 beaten.

II. "That he had faid to a Gentleman in the fesuites House at Krasnostow 15 Leagues from Lublin, that the Roman-Catholicks adore Images, and disputed other Articles of Faith there.

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III. "That departing thence on Horleback he firuck with his Whip an old Woman who was kneeling under a Crofs, and bid her not commit.

Idolatry, and then threw her a little Piece of

"This Accusation was Sworn to by 2 Practicers of the Law, and by 12 other Witnesses: And he himself having at his first Appearance before the Court owned the Words he had retorted about the Pope, in answer to the Ignominy cast by his Antagonist upon Luther; Sentence was immediated by pronounced upon him, viz. That he having uttered Plasphemy against God and Popery, should

have his Tongue cut out at the back part of his Neck, and then be quartered.

This dreadful Sentence forced him at length to renounce his Religion, to obtain the favour only of having his Head cut off, and to deliver himself from the Importunity of the Popish Priests, who upon that Condition offered to intercede for him. He was executed to Day, and the Clergy have got by it 750 Ducats which he left.

"During his Tryal, another Officer happened to fay that probably the King of Prussia would re-

venge his Death by that of ten *Polifi* Gentlemen or more. But he was very lucky in flipping out

or more. But he was very lucky in slipping out of the Way in time before it was told to the Court, otherwise he would have undergone the same Fate

with the Captain, but Men are hunting for him.
To Day a Jesuite in his Sermon gave very so-

" lemn Thanks to the Tribunal, for the Justice so holily exercised on a Blasphemer; adding that this their signal Zeal would be spread to their immor-

" tal Glory throughout the World-

"A Woman of Zamore is brought Prisoner hither: She is accused of Sorcery, and of having
caused all the bad Weather and Rain which have
held so long in these Parts.

About

About the beginning of Augus, the Lord Vol. VI. Willoughly, Doctor of Divinity, was made The Ld. Willoughly, Doctor of Divinity, was made The Ld. Willoughly, Decaret's Chappel, Windfor. As loughly made the finne time it was made known that Dean of Wind Dr. Smahridge, being named to succeed the for. Lord Privy-Scaly as Bishop of Brifiel, he doctated that Offer.

On the tota of August the Queen was Mr. Ponderpleas'd to confer the Fonoise of Knight, ves Knighten hood on William Pondarves Bigs of Pendarper in the County of Compally Bour Aug. 14th

Bays after, is was made publicky that Mr. Foley
how Majerty had also been pleased to ap-of the thingeft. Point Thomas Fory Eig, to be one of the Andinors of the haprest Accounts, in the Room of Nor. Morwaring deceased; And on the 17th the Queen in Council, at The E. of Window, Her Majorty deliver'd the Cufto-Dartmouth dy of the Privy Seal to William Barl of M. Privy Stal. Deriments, who had the Gath Reeper of the Privy Seal administred to Mr. Brombet him, and took his Place as the Board Secretary The fame Day William Branton Esq. State; The D. Speaker to the late House of Commonsyberland, and was Iworn one of Her Majefty's Principal sr. J. Stone-Secretaries of State, and the Duke of house, Privy Northumberland and Siv John Stonehouse Bart, Counsellors; were Sworn of Hen Majesty's Most ho-Mourable Privy Council, and took their Places at the Board accordingly. The same Day likewise the Queen was pleas'd the Ld. Lansto appoint the ford' Landdownerto be Trea-downe Treafurer of Her Majetty's Houstold, in the Houstold, Str Room of the Barl Cholmendiey, formerly I Sconeliouis settloved; Sie John Sraseboufe Comptroller Comptroller, of the Houshold, in the Room of the Ld. the Ed. de la Limstowne, and the kord de be Warre warre fres-Pressurer of the Chamber, in the Room Chamber.

Vol. VI. of the Lord Fitzharding deceas'd. On the 21st. Her Majesty constituted Sir ham Chanc. of William Wyndham Bart. Chanceller and Unthe Exch.

Mr. Gwin, in the Room of the Lord Bingley; Francis Secretary at Gwin Esq; Secretary at War, in the Room War; and Mr. of Sir William Wyndham; and Thomas Moore Moore Paymaster of the Bsq; Brother to Mr. Arthur Moore, Payforces abroad. Master of Majesty's Land-Forces abroad, in the Room of Mr. Bridges.

Count Maffey On the 23d of August Count Maffey bas bis Audi-Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of ence of Leave. Savoy, being recall'd by his Royal Highness, had a private Audience of the Queen at Windsor, to which he was introduced by the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, and conducted by the Master of the Ceremonies.

The Duke of Shrewsbury A arrives from of France.

The Duke of Shrewsbury, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France, having, with his Dutchess, embark'd at Calais the 23d of August about 11 a Clock at Night, on Board the Peregrine Yacht, landed at Dover the 24th in the Morning, arrived in London the 25th, and the next Day waited on the Queen at Windsor, and was very graciously received by Her Majesty.

The Earl of The 27th it was made publick, That Denbigh the Queen had appointed the Earl of made one of Denbigh to be one of the Tellers of Her

the Tellers of Majesty's Exchequer.

the Excheq. Inaleity's Extrequer.
The Duke D' On the 17th of Angust the Duke D' Aumont Ambassador Extraordinary from a magnissees his Most Christian Majesty, gave a magnissees and Massacrade.

Persons of Quality and Distinction, which at Night was follow'd by a Ball and Massacrade.

The Appearance was one of the

the finest and noblest that ever was seen; Vol. VI. the British Nation, tho' not much used to Masquerading, having on this Occasion, shewn a great Gusto for Diversions of this Kind, both in the Magnificence and Variety of the Habits. But above Eighteen Hundred Persons having been admitted, his Excellency's Apartment in Somerfer House was so crowded, that there happen'd some Disorder at the Buffet. On the 30th of the same Month, the Duke d' Aumont had a Private Audience of Leave of the Queen at Wind-Audience of Jer, to which he was introduced by the Leave. Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and conducted by Sir Clement Cotterel Ma-

fer of the Ceremonies. The new Elections for Parliament-Men drawing on, the prime Managers were not wanting to use their utmost Applicati-

on both to get such Persons chosen, as they thought most devoted to the Court, and to fix fuch as had acted a dubious Part. Among the latter, Sir T— H—r Endeavours having, at the close of the last Session, used so fix semanifested his great Interest with the veral Gentle-High-Church-Party, and Landed Gentle- men in the Courtintereft, men, and, at the same Time, made it particularly appear, that he was not blindly to be sir Tled into any Measures; it was strongly Hreported, That Endeavours were used to secure him the Offer either of a considerable Place or of the Peerage: But that he refused both, being unwilling to have any Tie upon him, that might biass his Judgment. At the same Time, the Party-Seriblers were taught to asperse the most

eminent

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No. AND

Scandalous Reflections against Mr. H—den.

eminent Perfons among their respective Antagonists; as appears by the following Paragraph, which was inforted in the Post-Boy of August 12d viz. Her Majefly having been pleased at length to diffolve the best House of Commons that ever fate, we cannot but hope that, according to Her Majesty's Wishes, the Nation will be very cautious in choosing Representatives for the enfaing Parliament. The paying heavy and unequal Taxes is the inevitable Confequence of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, which had not Her Majesty in her Great Wildom prevented by a Peace, and the Parliament abated, had in a very little time been the inevitable Ruin of these Kingdoms. There will be no "Occasion to direct the Nation in their Choice, fince any one of common Senfe can distinguish between those who were for staying on the Taxes, and increasing the Load upon their Fellow Subjects, and those who were for easing them of their Burdens; Nay, any one, I may say, who has any thing of his own, may feel the The following Paragraph, Difference, however, out of the Plain-Dealer, may be of use to the Freeholders of a Neighbouring County; some of which Papers being wrote by a good Hand, we may hereafter borrow something from them, s as may be serviceable to the Publick. * The Gentleman, says that Author, who made a Speech, with a Defign to be seme to the Tower for the Extravagance of his Zeal, fould be rather rusticated for his Folly than imprison a fer his Impudence. What squere

What seems Character bis Ancestors * hous Vol. VI. goined by appoing the Government, or goined by appoing the Greaters his * Clerendon's Scheming out Rebellion, or what forver his * Clerendon's Hist. Vol. s. Vanity might suggest. I must sell bien, he What was said is thought at prefent too inconsiderable to of Cinna miebe bear his Brother W-p-e Company. His well be applied G-r bad Capacity energy to distinguish to him; He himself as a Ringleader in Rebellion, but to contrive, the Government are under no fuch difinal & 2 Tongue Apprehensions from any Consideration of his to persuade, " Marit, the be may inherit the fame Principles, and and a Hand here the same Inclinations to do them Prejudice. If to execute " it had been a trifling Negociation, if we were a any Mischief mused by our M - try at Home, and tricked by our Enemies abroad, as be affirmed; yet 'tis plain to all the World, he was no Judge of what he faid, and confequently talk'd at Random. A Man may as eafige pals a Judgmens on Colours in the dark, on this Gentleman or any of his Friends, on the present Treaty; and I would fain know the Reasons of their Assertions, " if they have any. They are acquainted, I suppose with the Franch Plenipotentiaries; or the present Ministry, out of their great Respect for the Parts and Loyalty of Mr. II ____ den, may have let him into the Secret. Had Mr. H --- den, or any of his Party opposed the Peace out of Principle, or for the Good of his Country, there might have been some excuse for him; but if he did it before he knew what the Peace was, if he voted for the Ruin of his Neighbours by the Continuance of the

Land-Tax; if he betray'd the Trust his

Country had reposed in him for his pri-

vate Interest, as every one may be said to do, who voted for the War, 'tis the

highest piece of Assurance he can be guilty of, to expect again to represent them.

But notwithstanding these scandalous Re- Norwithstanflections Mr. Hambden was, foon after, cho-ding which he fen in two Boroughs, and went near to two Places. carry

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Vol. VIV carry the Election for Buckinghamshire. On Monday the 25th of August the Electi-The Elections one began in feveral Places, particularly begin Aug. 25 at West minster, where Sir Thomas Crosse, Bart, and Thomas Medlycor Big. the two old Members were chosen without Oppofition. I take this Occasion to rectify a More Whiggs Miltake in one of my former, wherein I many experied faid those two Gentlemen voted against the Bill of Commerce, whereas they did the contrary. I shall in this Place take no further Notice of the Elections, fave only, that notwithstanding the Weight and Influence of the Court, and the vifible Parriality of some returning Officers, a far

greater Number of Whigs were chosen, than was by many expected

Mr. Blythe On the 25th of August Mr. Blythe, a marries the Lady Hyde Aug. Gentleman of a confiderable Estate in England and Ireland, was married to the La-27tb.

dy Theodosia Hyde Baroness of Clifton, in her own Right, only Child of the Earl of Clarendon, and by the Death of her Brother the late Lord Cornbury, Heiress to a good Estate in Kent and Scotland, and on whom the Queen bestow'd an additional Portion of 10000 1.

On the last Day of August, a Marriage The Ld. Harley marries the of far greater Eclat, both as to Persons, D of New-Fortunes, and Circumstances, was consummated between the Lord Harley, Son to

Lord High Treasurer, and the Lady Henrietta Holles, only Daughter of the late Duke of Newcastle, an Heiress of above 15000 l. per Annum.

FINIS.

THE POLITICAL

GREAT BRITAIN,

With the

Most Material Occurrences in Europe. For the Month of SEPTEMBER, 1713.

Containing in Particular,

1. General MAXIMS in TRADE; by an eminent Merchant.
11. Large Abstracts of three remarkable PAMPHLETS about Dunkirk, viz.

1. Reasons concerning the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk.

2. DUNKIRK or DOVER, &c.
3. The IMPORTANCE of Dunkirk consider'd, in Defence of the Guardian, by Mr. STEELE.

III. Account of the Beginning of the Demolition of Dankirk.

IV. Preferments, Deaths of eminent Persons, and other Remarkables during this Month.

V. Observations on the Elections for Parliament. Men in Great.

Britain.

VI. A Compleat Double LIST of both Houses, both of the Last and New PARLIAMENT.



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THE

POLITICAL STATE

FOR

The Month of SEPTEMBER, 1713.

London, Sept. 30. 1713.

SIR,



RADE being the greatest Vol. VI. Concern of the British Nation, and the Subject which now employs both the Spetculations of most Men, and the Pens of several Writers.

I have, for these Four Months past, made it my Business to give you faithful Abstracts of all the most remarkable Pamphlets and Papers that have been published about this important Matter; and finding that my Endeavours to set it in a true Light, have been well received, I shall continue the same Method, till the Parliament has decided the grand Question, Whether a Trade with France will be beneficial

The POLITICAL STATE

Vol. VI. neficial to Great Britain? To this Purpose, I thought fit to infert here the folGeneral lowing small Treatise, publish'd about the
Maxims in Beginning of this Month, and written by
TRADE, &c. an Eminent Merchant.

General MAXIMS in TRADE, particularly apply'd to the COM-MERCE between Great Britain and France.

THERE are general Maxims in Trade, which are affemed to by every Body.

That a Trade may be of Benefit to the Merchant, and injurious to the Body of the Nation, is one of these Maxims.

I shall confine my self to speak of Trade, only, as it is Nationally Good or Bad.

factures made of the Sele Product or Gnowth of the Country, is undoubtedly Good; fuch is the sending abroad our Yorkshire Closh, Colchester Bays, Exeter Serges, Norwich Stuffs, &c. Which being made purely of British Wool, as much as those Exports amount to, so much is the clear Gain of the Nation.

II. That Trade which helps off the Consumption of our Superfluities, is also visibly advantageous; as the exporting of Allum, Copperas, Leather, Tin, Lead, Coals, &c. So much as the Exported Superfluities amount unto, so much also is the clear National Profit.

.

III. The Importing of Foreign Materials to be manufaltured at home, especially when the Goods, after they are manufaltured, are mostly sent abroad, is also, without Dispute, very beneficial; as for Instance, Spanish Wool, which for that Reason is exempted from paying any Duties.

IV. The Importation of Foreign Materials to be manufactured here, although the Manufactured Goods are chiefly consumed by us, may also be beneficial; especially when the said Materials are procured in Exchange for our Commedities; as Raw-Silk, Grogram-Yarn, and other

Goods brought from Turkey.

V. Foreign Materials, wrought up here into such Goods, as would otherwise be imported ready manufastured, is a Means of saving Money to the Nation; and if saving is getting, that Trade which procures such Materials, ought to be look'd upon as profitable. Such is the Importation of Hemp, Flax, and Raw-Silk; 'tis therefore to be wondered at, that these Commodities are not exempt from all Duties, as well as SpanishWool.

VI. A Trade may be call'd good which exchanges Manufactures for Manufactures, and Commodities for Commodities. Germany takes as much in Value of our Woolen and other Goods, as we do of their Linnen: By this Means, Numbers of People are employ'd on Both

Sides, to their Mutual Advantage.

VII. An Importation of Commodities, bought partly for Money, and partly for Goods, may be of National Advantage, if the greatest Part of the Commodities thus imported, are again exported, as in the Case of East-India Goods: And generally all Imports of Goods which are re-exported, are beneficial to a Nation.

VIII. The carrying of Goods from one Foreign Country to another, is a profitable Article in Trade: Our Ships are often thus employ'd between Portugal, Italy,

and the Levant, and sometimes in the East-Indies.

IX. When there is a Necessity to import Goods which a Nation cannot be without, although such Goods are chiefly Y 2 purchased

purchased with Money, it cannot be accounted a Bad Trade; as our Trade to Norway and other Parts, from whence are imported Naval Stores, and Materials for Building.

But a Trade is difadvantagious to a Nation,

I. Which brings in Things of meer Luxury and Pleafure, which are entirely, or for the most part, consumed among us; and such I reckon the Wine Trade to be, especially when the Wine is purchased with Money, and not in Exchange for our Commodities.

2. Much worse is that Trade which brings in a Commodity, that is not only consumed amongst us, but hinders the Consumption of the like Quantity of ours: As is the Importation of Brandy, which hinders the Spending of our Extracts of Malt and Molass; therefore very prudently

charged with Excessive Duties.

3. That Trade is imminently bad, which supplies the same Goods as we manufacture our selves, especially if we can make enough for our Consumption: And I take this to be the Case of the Silk Manufacture; which, with great Labour and Industry, is brought to Perfection in London, Canterbury, and other Places.

4. The Importation upon easy Terms, of such Manufactures as are already introduced in a Country, must be of bad Consequence, and check their Progress; as it would undoubtedly be the Case of the Linnen and Paper Manufactures in Great Britain (which are of late very much improved) if those Commodities were suffered to be brought in without paying very high Duties.

Wise Nations are so fond of encouraging Manufactures in their Infancy, that they not only burthen Foreign Manufactures of the like Kind with high Impositions, but often totally condemn and prohibit the Consumption of them.

To bring what hath been already said into a varrower Compass, it may be reduced to this, viz.

That the Exportation of Manufactures is in the highest Degree beneficial to a Nation.

That

That the Exportation of Superfluities is so much clear

That the Importation of Foreign Materials to be manufactured by us, instead of importing Manufactured Goods, is the saving a great deal of Money.

That the exchanging Commodities for Commodities, is

generally an Advantage.

Than all Imports of Goods which are re-exported, leave a real Benefit.

That the letting Ships to Freight to other Nations,

is profitable.

That the Imports of Things of absolute Necessity, cannot be esteemed bad.

That the importing Commodities of meer Luxury, is

so much real Loss as they amount to.

That the Importation of such Goods as hinder the Consumption of our own, or check the Progress of any of our Manufactures, is a visible Disadvantage, and necessarily tends to the Ruin of Multitudes of People.

Having premised thus far in Relation to Trade in general, and made it evident that there are several Ways of Trading advantageous to a Nation, and others which are not so: I shall now examine which of these beneficial or burtful Ways to us, the French Trade doth answer, and then draw the Ballance at the Foot of the Account.

I. The Exportation of our Woollon Goods to France, is fowell barr'd against, that there is not the least Hope of

reaping any Benefit by this Article.

The French did always out-do m in Price of Labour: Their Common People live upon Roots, Cabbage, and other Herbage; Four of their large Provinces subsist intirely upon Chesnuts; and the Best of them eat Bread made of Barley, Millet, Turkey, and Black Corn; so that their Wages used to be small, in Comparison with qurs.

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But of Lase Years their Crown-Pioces being made of the same Value as ours, and rais'd from Sixty to one Hundred Sols; and the Manufasturers, Servants, Soldiers, Day-Labourers, and other Working-People, earning no more Sols or Pence by the Day than they did formerly, the Price of Labour is thereby so much lessen'd, that one may affirm for Truth, they have generally their Work done for Half the Price we pay for ours. For although Provisions be as dear at Patis as they are at London, 'is certain that in most of their Provinces they are very cheap; and that they buy Beef and Mutton for Half the Price we pay for it.

But the Price of Meat and Wheat doth little concerned the Poor Manufacturers; as they generally drink nothing but Water, and at helt a Sort of Liquor they call Beuvrage (which is Water passed through the Husks of Grapes, after the Wine is drawn off) they save a great deal upon that Ascount: For 'tis well known that our People spend

Half of their Money in Drink.

The Army is a notorious Instance how cheap the French can live: It enables their King to maintain 30000 Men with the same Money we maintain 112500. Their Pay being Five Sols a Day (which is exactly Three Pence English) and our Soldiers Pay is Eight Pence.

However, they subsist upon that small Allowance; and if there be the same Disproportion between our Manufacturers and theirs, as there is betwixt our Soldiers and their Soldiers, as to Pay, 'tis plain that the Work in France is done for little more than a Third Part of what it is done for in England: And I am confident 'tis so in most part of their Manufactures; of which I could give many Instances, if it were needful; but let these Two sollowing at present suffice.

At Lyons, which, next to Paris, is the Best City in France, they pay Nine Sols an Ell for making of Lustrings, which is little more than Five Pence English

glish Money; and the Price paid here for making Lu-

firings, is Twelve Pence per Ell.
In the Paper Manufacture abundance of People are employ'd for forting Rags in the Mills, who earn In France but Two Sols a Day, which is less than Five Farthings of our Money; and the Price paid here for such Work, is Four Pence a Day.

The French working thus cheap, 'tis no Wonder if they afford their Manufactures at Lower Rates than their

Neighbours.

But to leave no Room for Doubt in a Master of fo great Importance, several Merchants have brought over from France Patterns of their Woollen Goods, with the Prices they are fold at; and it appears that, in general; they are Goodness for Goodness, cheaper than ours: Their Clock made of Spanish Wooll, which is brought to great Perfeltion, is fold in the Shops for Sixteen to Seventeen Livres the Ell (which is a Yard, a Quarten, and an Inch) and as a French Livre is exactly worth one of our Shillings, they fell the Ell there as thoup as me fall leave the Yard, which is Twenty Five per Cent. Difference.

And if what is own'd on all Hands be true, that the Prench do send great Quantities of Woollen Goods to Italy, Spain, Portugal, Tutkey, the Rhine, and other Places; although they pay a Duty upon Exportation, tis a Demonstration that they have more than is sufficient for their own Wear, and consequently no great Occasion for

any of ours.

Objection. What need the French limit the Impertation of our Cloth, &c. to Three Places, Subject it to strict Visitations, and insist to continue a High Duty upon it, if they have enough of their own, and can afford it cheaper than me?

Answer. By the long Interruption of Commerce and Correspondence between the Two Nations, the French knew as little the Price of our Commodities, as we did the

Price

Price of theirs; and being extremely jealous of their Manufastures, they would not give way to any the least thing that could prejudice them: In short, they had a Mind to be secured against all Events.

Have not we done the like in the self same Case? We out-do, in our own Thoughts, all the World in the Woollen-Manusastures; but not depending upon this single Advantage of working better than others, we have laid very High Duties upon all Foreign Woollen-Goods, and even probibited them. And 'tis well we did so! For else the French would have made our Hearts ake since the Peace, by

their great Importation of Woollen Goods upon us.

But they are so well apprised of the Matter now, and know the Advantage they have over us in Point of Cheapness, that I don't doubt they will give us Leave to import into France not only Woollen-Goods, but all other Commodities what sever, upon very easy Duties, provided we permit them to import into Great Britain Wines, Brandies, Silks, Linnen, and Paper, upon paying the same Duties as others do. And when that's done, you'll sand little more to France than now you do, and they'll import into Great Britain ten Times more than now they can.

II. As to the other Products of our Land, I mean our Superfluities, it must be own'd the French bave Occasion for some of them, as Lead, Tin, Leather, Copperas, Coals, Allum, and several other things of small Value, as also some sew of our Plantations Commodities: But these Goods they will have whether we take any of theirs or no; because they want them; as they were supply'd with them, during the War, by Way of Italy and Flanders, and paid us a little more Money for them than now they do, when they can have them at the first Hand in England. All these Commodities together, that the French want from us, may amount to about 20000 l. yearly.

III. As to Materials; I don't know of any one Sort useful to us, that ever was imported from France into England.

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England. They have indeed Hemp, Flax, and Wooll, in abundance, and some Raw-Silk; but they are too wise to let us have any, especially us long as they entertain any Hopes we shall be so self-denying, as to take those Materials from them after they are manufactur'd.

IV. Exchanging Commodities for Commodities (if for the like Value on both Sides) might be beneficial; but 'tis far from being the Case between us and France: Our Ships went constantly in Ballast (except now and then some Lead) to St. Malo, Morlaix, Nantes, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, &c. and ever came back full of Linnen, Wines, Brandy, and Paper. And if it was so before the Revolution, when one of our Pounds Sterling cost the French but Thirteen Livres, what are they like to take from us (except what they of Necessity want) now that for each Pound Sterling they must pay us Twenty Livres, which inhances the Price of all British Commodities to the French, above Fifty per Cent.

V. Goods imported to be re-exported, is certainly a National Advantage; but few or no French Goods are ever exported from Great Britain, except to our Plantations; but are all consumed at Home; therefore no Bene-

fit can be reap'd this Way by the French Trade.

VI. Letting Ships to Freight cannot be but of some Profit to a Nation; but 'tis very rare if the French ever make use of any other Ships than their own: They vistual and man cheaper than we, therefore nothing is to be got from them by this Article.

VII. Things that are of absolute Necessity cannot be reckon'd prejudicial to a Nation; but France produces nothing that is necessary, or even convenient, or but which

we had better be without, except Claret.

VIII. If the Importation of Commodities of meer Luxury, to be confumed amongst su, be a sensible Disadvantage, the French Trade, in this Particular, might be highly pernicious to this Nation: For if the Duties on French Wines be lower'd to a considerable Degree.

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the least the can suppose would be imported into England and Scotland, is 18000 Tuns a Year, which being most Clarets, at a moderate Computation, would cost in

France 450000 l.

IX. As to Brandy; since we have laid High Duties upon it, the distilling of Spirits from Malt and Motasses is much improved and increased, by Means of which a good Sum of Money is yearly said to the Nation; for very little Brandy bath been imported either from Italy, Portugal, or Spain, by reason that our English Spirits are near as good as those Countries Brandies: But as French Brandy is efteem'd, and is, indeed, very good, if the Extraordinary Duty on that Liquor be taken off, there's no doubt but great Quantities will be imported. We'll suppose only 3000 Tons a Year, which will ooft Great Britain about 70000 l. yearly, and prejudice besides the Extracts of our own Malt Spirits.

X. Linnen is an Arricle of more Consequence than many People are aware of: Ireland, Scotland, and feveral Counties in England, have made large Steps to-wards the Improvement of that ufeful Manufacture, both in Quantity and Quality; and with good Encouragement would doubtless, in a few Years, bring it to Perfection, and perhaps make sufficient for our own Consumption; which, besides employing great Numbers of People, and improving many Acres of Land, would save us a good Sum of Money, which is yearly laid out abroad in that Commodity. As the Case stands at present it im-proves daily; but if the Duties on French Linnen be reduc'd, 'tis to be fear'd it will come over so cheap, that our Looms must be laid aside, and 6 or 7000001. a Year be sent over to France for that Commodity.

XI. The Manufacture of Paper is very near a-kin to that of Linnen. Since the High Duties taid on Foreign Paper, and that none hath been imported from France, where 'tis cheapest, the Making of it is increased to such a Degree in England, that we import none of the Lower Sorts from abroad, and make them all our selves: But if

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the French Duties be taken off, undoubtedly most of the Mills which are employed in the making of White Paper, enust leave off their Work, and 30 to 40000 l. a Year be

remitted over to France for that Commodity.

XII. The Last Article concerns the Silk Manufacture. Since the late French Wars 'tis increased to a mighty Degree; Spittlesields alone manufattures to the Value of Two Millions a Year, and were daily improving, till the late Fears about lowering the French Duties, What Pity! That so noble a Manufatture, so extensive and so beneficial to an Infinite Number of People, Sould run the Hazard of being ruined! 'Tis however to be feared, that if the French can import their wrought Silks upon easy Terms, they out-do es fo much in Cheapness of Labour, as hath been already showed, and they have Italian and Levant Raw-Silk upon le much eafter Terms than we, besides great Quantities of their ann in Provence, Languedoc, and other Provinces, that, in all Probability, half the Looms in Spittlefields would be laid down, and our Ladies be again cloathed in French Silks; the Loss that would accrue to the Nation by so great a Mischief, cannnot be valued at less than 500000 1. A Tear.

To sum up all; if we pay to France yearly,

For their Wines	~1	450090
For their Brandies		70200
For their Linnen		600000
For their Paper		30000
For their Silks		200000
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1670000

And they take from us in Lead, Tin,. Leather, Allum, Copperas, Coals, Horn (Plates, &c. and Plantation-Goods, to the Value of

Great Britain lofer by the Ballance of that \$ 1450000 Trade yearly Which Which seems unavoidable, if we are so good natured as to take off the high Duties; the only Fence we have less against an Inundation of French Commodities upon us.

If any Body thinks fit to object against these Papers, that there are many Commodities that used to be sent to France, of which there's no Notice taken here; I desire them to give a List of those Commodities not only by Name, but to put the Quantities which they judge are like to be ex-ported, and their Valuation: And I promise them, in Return, another List of many Commodities I have omitted, which would certainly be imported from France upon lowering the Duties, with the probable Quantities of each Sort, and their Cost on board there; and I dare answer, I shall be even with them upon that Score; having here, for Brevity's Sake, mentioned only such Commodities as are most considerable. Thus, perhaps, by making accurate Estimates and Calculations of all Commodities that can be exported to France, or brought over from thence, shall we come to a right Understanding of the Matter; and what the Trade between Great Britain and France is like to be, in case the Duties be taken off.

All the Nations of Europe seem to strive who shall outwit one another in Point of Trade, and they concur in this Maxim, That the less they consume of Foreign Com-

modities, the better it is for them.

The Dutch, to abviate too great a Consumption of Foreign Goods among St them, make use of Excises, and they have for that Reason laid a very High Excise upon French Wines.

The French study to prevent it, by Duties of Importations, Duties on Consumptions, Tolls from one Province into another, by strict Visitations, Restraints, and Prohibitions, and by the Example of the Court, in wearing their own Manufactures.

We have, of late Tears, saved a great deal of Money, by laying high Duties upon Foreign Commodities, which hath not only hindered their too great Consumption among us, but hath had this good Effect besides; that it hath given Encouragement to the settling, improving, and perfectionating

many useful Manufactures in Great Britain. So that we must be out of our senses, if we permit the French to import their Manufactures, to the Prejudice and Destruction of our own.

We are now, God be praised, in Peace and Friendship with the French; we have a free Correspondence and Commerce with them: They do and will take from us what they want, and 'tis all we can expect or desire of them.

We may freely import their Good Claret, and have it upon reasonable Terms, if we do not buy it in too great Quantities: And as for their Manufactures, 'tis undeniable, we had better be without them, since they must be purchased with our Ready Money; for their Cloth, and other Woollen Goods, being cheaper than ours, they cannot take any from us if they would, in Compensation for their Silks, Paper, and Linnen; and as they take nothing but what they want, they ought not, in Reason, to expect we should take from them what we have no manner of Occasion for.

As it is very requisite that those who are to deal with another Nation, should have a perfect Knowledge of their Weights, Measures, Customs, and Moneys; and there having been a remarkable Alteration in the French Coins since we had any Dealings with them, which is the thing of the utmost Moment in Commerce, I shall beg Leave to subjoin here an Account of their Coin as it stands at present, and, in all Probability, is like to stand; that we may know what we are to pay for their Goods,

and what they are to pay for ours.

The French Crown-Piece is exactly now of the same Goodness and intrinsick Value as the English Crown-Piece. It goes in France for Five Livres, and each Livre for Twenty Sols, so that each Crown-Piece goes there for one Hundred Sols or Pence.

Our Crown-Piece goes for Five Shillings, each Shilling for Twelve Pence, so that our Crown-Piece goes here for Sixty Pence. As there is Five Livres in their Crown, and Five Shillings in our Crown, and that they are both of equal Weight and Kahua, a Shilling is exactly warth a Livre, and a Livre a Shilling. I beg pardon for being them exact, to a Nicery, in this Particular; but, I think, the Fate of Great Britain, in Point of Trade, doth in a great Measure dopend upon it.

Refere the War, if I bought any Commodity in France which cost me a Livre, I paid Eighteen Pence English for it, as is well known to every Body that had Dealings there; if I buy now the same thing in France for a Line, I pay but one Shilling for it; by which Means all their Mar unfastures are rendered so very cheap to us, that if there was but Moderate Duties upon their Importation, we should immediately be over-whelmed with French Commodities. For as their Work-men receive no more Sols or Pence, for their Day's-work or Wages, than they did formerly, they sell their Cloth, Paper, and Linnen, for no more Sols than they used to do: Therefore if I bought beretofore an Ell of Linnen for a Livre, it cost me then Eighteen Pence, and now buying an Ell of the same Line new for a Livre still, it costs me but one Shilling.

On the centrary, when the Fr. bought any thing of us before the War, if it cost them one Pound Sterling, they paid but Thirteen Liwres for it; and if they buy now the same thing for one Pound Sterling, they pay Twenty Livres: Which renders every Commodity we have so very dear to them, that 'tis hardly possible they should take any thing from us, but what they have an absolute Necessity for.

For of they bought formerly a Yard of Cloth here for Fifreen Shillings, they paid but Nine Livres, Three Quarters, for it; and if they buy now here a Yard of the fame Cloth for Fifteen Shillings, they must pay Fifteen Livres: Which, as faid before, renders our Manufactures excessive dear to them, and their Manufactures exceeding cheap to us.

In short, all Kinds of French Manufactures that were beretofore purchased in France, either by Natives or Strangers, for September, 1713.

Strangers, for one Ounce and a Hulf of Silver, Vol. VI. the fume Quantity and Goodness is there purchased non by Natives and by Strangers for one Ounce of Silver. And whatever the French ased to purchase in Foreign Parts, with Three Liones, they must non give Four Liutes and a Hulf for it.

I have purposely neglected to take Notice of what Prejudice the French Trade may be to us, in Relation to our Exports to Portugal, Italy. Turkey, and Hamburgh; for that will afford ample Matter to be the Subject of another Discourse.

In our journal for the Month of July, we inserted both Monsiour Tagghe's Memorial or Address to Her Majelby, containing Reasons for the Preservation of the Harbour of Dunkitk; and the Guardian of Mr. Steele's the 7th of Angust, wherein was publish'd Case about the a Letter written by Mr. Swele, and Mub-Guardian of Acrib'd English Tory, animadverting on the fine on the Acid Memorial, and fuggesting. That the Demolition British Nation expected the immediare Demo-of Dunkirk. * P. 158. Vition of Dunkirk. Moreover in our * tast We took Notice, That Mr. Swele having a Call to serve his Country in Par-W Hament, religned his Place of one of the Commissioners of the Stamps, which was incompatible with his fitting in the House of Commons; And we added, 'twas look'd upon as a Piece of Pru-. dence in him, by a voluntary Resignation, to forestal a removal: For discertain, the Guardian before mention'd had given no fmall Offence to the M-y, as appear'd by the investives of the Ema-

miner.

Vol. VI. ' miner of which Notice should be taken in our next. ' Before we perform that

Promise, 'tis necessary to premise a short Abstract of a Abstract, of a Pamphlet entituded, The Pamphlet
cast d, The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's MaHonour and jesty vindicated and defended against the unPrerogative exampled Insolence of the Author of the Guarof the Q's dian: In a Letter from a Country Whigg
Majesty vinto Mr. Steele; and said to be written by
the Author of the New Atalantis. The
Ninth and Tenth Pages, which contain
the Substance of the whole Piece, are as

follows:

See how the Villain treats the best of Sovereigns, the best Mistress to him, whose Bread he has eaten, and who has kept him from a Goal! Read it again, say they: Put it into English, said a Neighbour of mine to me, come make the best of it! Then he reads the abominable Language as follows;

The British Nation EXPECT, &c. And again, The British Nation EXPECT the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk. And a third time, with a Tone of threatning, 6 The British Nation EXPECT it. See the Guardian August 7, 1713. I would fain have pleaded for you, that this was not to be un-derstood to be spoken to or pointed at the Queen, but to the People of Dunkirk, and I Search'd the whole Paper for Something to have brought you off with that way. But it would not do, they laugh'd at me: How could it be fpoken to him, Jay they? His Memorial is to the Queen, and if it should be directed to Monsieur Tugghe it would be still worse; for that would be to talk thus to him, viz. What do ye Petition the Queen for? We tell you, The British Nation will not suffer it, the Queen

Queen dares not do it, for the British Nation EXPECT it be immediately demolish'd. This stopp'd my Mouth indeed, with respect to that Part of the Excuse, and then they went on with me: Come, says my Neighbour, if you cannot put it into Words, I'll do it for you.

'The British Nation EXPECT the Im-

mediate Demolition of Dunkirk.

We all know Her Majesty has Possession of Dunkirk; and the' the Work is to be done by the French, Her Majesty may appoint the Now, says he, read the Words. Day. What is it but thus? Look you, Madam, Your Majesty had best take care that Dunkirk be demolish'd, or else, &c. And again; Madam! WE EXPECT, and we would have you take Notice that we expect it, that Dunkirk be demolish'd, and that immediately.

Just thus an Imperious Planter at Barbadoes speaks to a Negro Slave, Look you, Sirrah, I expect this Sugar to be ground,

and look to it, that it be done forthwith.

Tis enough to tell you I EXPECT it, or else,

&c. And then he holds up his Stick at him,

· Take what follows.

The Examiner, in a Style quite as po- Investives of lite as that of this Pamphleteer, in his Pa-the Examiner

per, of August 21. has it thus:

Ibelieve I may challenge all the Nations of the World, and all the Histories of this Nation, for a Thousand Years past, to shew us an Instance so flagrant as what we have now tefore us, viz. When ever a Subject, nay a Servant under a Salary, and favoured, in Spite of Ill Behaviour past, with a considerable Employment in the Government, treated his

against

Vol. VI. his Sovereign in fuch a manner as the GUARDIAN has done the Person of the

Queen; and went unpunished.

If the Clemency of the Queen prevails to Save such a Man; if Her Majesty thinks it below her to refent an Injury from so contemptible a Wretch, by so much the rather should every Subject resent it; and show their Duty and Respect to their Sovereign, by trampling under their Feet the very Name and Memory of the Man that can have Boldness enough to infult his Prince in a Printed, and for that Reason, Scandalous Libel, and can have INGRATITUDE enough to do it, while he is eating her Bread.

How can any Man shew himself a Faithful Subject to Her Majesty, and net resent such a Piece of Conduct! To see a Subject hold up a Rod at his Prince! And openly threaten the Queen, if she does not cause Dunkirk to be demolished! To threaten Her Majesty with the Nation's Resentment, if it be not forthwith enter'd upon, and command her to do it IMMEDIATELY; it ought to fill every faithful Subject with Abhorrence, and cause them either to shun the Man, or let him know

they detest his Behaviour.

And yet this Man was never fo dear to the Whigs, as since he let them know that he durst assault his Queen; this has made him their Favourite, and one of their Authors has made his dull Panegyrick upon him already for it; while another Set of them are endeavouring to get him chosen for the next Parliament, that he may carry on his Infult there; and obtain the Honour, as another of their haughty Leaders bas already done, of being expelled the House.

I have not Room to enlarge in this Gafe, as fo unexampled a Piece of Ingratitude deferves; he has been hand somely, only too favourably, exposed in this very Case, by a Book just published, and which I recommend, for that Roason, in the following Advertisement.

After this be subjoins the following Advers

The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty vindicated, &c.

Three Days * after, the Author of * Further Inthe Examiner attack'd again the veditives of the Guardian, in this genteel Manner: Examiner.

For these Reasons, saving the Trespass on Custom, the LTE might be given in the Teeth of the Guardian, when he insolently tells the Queen, in his Late Seditions Libel, for such it must be accounted by every True Pritain; That the British Nation EXPECTS Immediate Demolition of Dunkirk: I it is not so; the British Nation does not ExECT that Her Majesty should divest her self; the Power which is in her Hands, by the session of Dunkirk, to do her self mance such to secure to her self the Performance such Conditions from all the Princes concerns as they have agreed to be just, and find them performed; but which we do not sions Britas free to execute, as the Obligations Britas as laid on them, has given us

It might, much more Duty to Her Majesty, and lice to our Country, have been said, That British Nation HOPES Her Majesty with Sare with Dunkisk, nor

2 Suffer

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Vol. VI. suffer it to be demolished, till the Danger of any Foreign Power, insulting her Subjects, be removed; till the Commerce, and Privileges of her Subjects of Great Britain, shall be effectually secured; and till there shall be no Danger of the Incroachments and Invasions of any Nation, not France only, but other

Danger of the Incroachments and Invasions of any Nation, not France only, but other Powers as well as France; for I must be allow'd, with these Gentlemen's Pardon, to suppose that there are Dangers to be expected from other Powers in the World, as well as France; especially Dangers to our Trade; and these Dangers are the greater, by how much we find the Whigs forward to give up our Trading-Interest to the Dutch, in Order to make Friends with them in their other Name-less Designs against the Ministry.

Those then who have a true Concern for the Good of Great Britain, would be very sorry to see Dunkirk put out of Her Majesty's Power, till every just Thing, which the keeping it can be a Means to secure to us, be obtain's

I might be more particular, in letting to World see what these Things are, which titain ought to obtain from the Neighbing Powers; and which Dunkirk is sar a Pledge for, that it ought to remain Here Majesty's Hands till they are obtain But as this is preparing by another Han and will be set in a clearer Light, to the Party, I shall say no more to it here.

According to this Pramphlet intipublish'd not long after Immediate Detled, Reasons concerning a serious Enmolishing of Dunkirk Condition of that quiry into the State

Affair.

The Author, who was generally Vol. VI guess'd to be the same that wrote the Pamphlet beforemention'd, call'd, The Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty vindicated, &c. declares, in the first place, That he was ever a Protestant, and truly Abstract of a e jealous for the Protestant against the Pampblet con-Popish Interest; That he has been to far cerning the Fopish Interest; I not the has been to har immediate from a French Party, that he was ever Demolishing against all Parties; and that as for the of Dunkirk. Pretender, he has willingly and unfeignedly abjured him.' Having thus endeavour'd to remove all Suspicions of his being partial, he tells us, 'That the Demolishing Dunkirk having been 4 agreed upon, in the late Treaty with the French King, and made a Part of the Peace concluded at Utrecht, it is no Ionger a Question, whether the French are obliged to demolish it or not, if the Queen of Great Britain insists upon it? None will contend this Part (viz.) • That the French must and ought to perform what is so agreed; and the Town is put into the Queen's Hand, to assure Her Majesty, on the Part of France, that it shall be done when required. That there are not the same Reasons, f or the same Obligations upon Her Mae jesty to demolish Dunkirk, as there are upon the Fr. King to do it, if Her Mafielty requires it; on the contrary, there are divers very good Reasons to be given, why Her Majesty may not think it proper to suffer the said Fortifications to be YET demolish'd. That therefore the Question before us is,

Whether, as Dunkirk is now in Her Ma-

' jesty's

e jesty's Hands, and was given us as a Pledge or Se. curity to Great Britain, of those Things stipulated by France, on the one Hand, and to impower the Queen to do her Subjects Right in the Nesberlands. on the other Hand: Whether, he says, it consists with common Prudence to give up this Pledge. before that Safety and Advantage, which is not yet put into our Hands to obtain and secure, be 6 obtained and secured? That to enter fairly into this Argument, we must enquire what were the true Motives upon which the British Court took Dunkirk into Possession: That in the first Place, the Restitution of Dunkirk was insisted upon as a Tefilmony to be given by the French King, that he was truly desirous of Peace; and sincerely re-' folved to give Satisfaction to Her Majesty and her Allies; and, That Her Majesty should be Arbitress of what should or should not be esteem'd Satisfaction, when a Treaty should be so commenc'd. 'That if the French King had refused to grant any Thing which Her Majesty judged essential to the Safety and Peace of Europe, either which was infisted on by the Queen, or by her Allies; Dunkirk was deem'd to be a sufficient Satisfaction to the Queen, and a sufficient Loss to France: So that leaving Dunkirk in Her Majesty's Hands, he was at Liberty to treat or not to treat, conclude or not conclude, as he thought fit; fince the Possession of Dunkirk was a thing so considerable to us, and in Case of carrying on the War, would have been fo fatal to France, that it required but a small Penetration to know we had thereby the Key of France on that Side, put into our Hands, and could, without any Difficulty, have done what (however ' talk'd of) had been found so impracticable to bring to pass in 22 Years War (viz.) to have carry'd the War into the Heart of France. That it should be next enquired, when the Article of putting Dunkirk

Dunkirk into Her Majesty's Hands was in Debate, from who and from what Foundation came the Addition of that Clause (viz.) The Fortifications to be demolished? Was it from the British, or from the French. or on some third Interest, that this Part was proposed? That no Man will be so weak as not to allow, that if the Town of Dunkirk. with all its Fortifications, Harbours, &c. could have been obtain'd, and the Possession and Sovereignty of them made over to the Queen, the British Ministers would gladly have accepted it; onor could they have answer'd it to God and their Queen if they had not. That what Interest soever other Nations, our Allies, may have in this Part, and how far they would be from being easy, if Dunkirk remain'd in English Hands, undemolish'd, 2 'tis certain the British Ministers, if in their right Mind, would never have offer'd the Demolishing it, if it had not been insisted on by the French: And as it could not reasonably be our Part to article for the Demolishing Dunkirk, when it was put into our Hands, fo neither can it be reasonable. that while we have it in Possession, we should be more in Haste to demolish it, than other Nations. 6 That if it were never demolish'd, what can the · Hurt be on our Side? That the Damage is to France, because they are deprived of it; and, in · Case of any Future Rupture with us, the Danger will be to them; but that it is a most Misterious Suggestion, that the Fortifications should be dangerous to us, who have them in Possession.' This Mystery the Author accounts for by the present Differences between Whig and Tory, who feem to agree in mothing but to dislike and oppose whatever the other Farty do, or espouse, merely because done and espoused by them, without enquiring into the Reason and Merit of the Case; as if they were unwilling the opposite Party should have the Reputation of doing what is Right, any more than

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than the Power of doing what is Wrong: Which he exemplifies by the various Conduct, Reports, and Speculations of the Whiggs, with Relation to the taking Possession, Keeping, and Demolishing of Dunkirk. He adds, 'That the very same People, who at first endeavour'd to make it be believ'd that we had not e really gotten Possession of it, when this Shift would ferve no longer, ran down Dunkirk, as of no great Consequence; and at last, on a sudden, turn'd their Tale, and Dunkirk was now of the utmost Consequence in the World. That it was with fome Impatience, that the On-Looking and Impartial Part of Mankind waited to know what they would infer from this new Opinion, for every one allow'd they were now in the right: That Dunkirk was of the last Importance, no Body could question; but what could they draw from thence? That to say that therefore the Ministry had acted wisely, in getting so great and so terrible a Place out of the Hands of so dangerous a Person as the • French King, without Blood or Blows, to have it quietly furrender'd and put into our Hands as a ' Pledge of Peace; that a Fortress which had been ' fo fatal to us, was now secured, whatever might ' happen, from ever doing Britain any more Mischief; this went against their Nature, and the very Thoughts of it made their Party-Blood run cold within them. That as this therefore could not be expected from them, so no Man in the World could ever have believed, that from the Acknowledgment of its Importance, could be drawn an Argument for our throwing it out of our Hands. That if they had faid they would have it dedemolished, because the Dutch are not willing we should keep it; because the Flemings are not willing to have us be so much their Masters; because the Emperor does not care to trust us with

for September, 1713. it: because by it we are able to establish the English Trade in Flanders, whether the States-General approve of it or no. Thefe are Reasons which have fome Force in them, and which out of the Mouth of a Dutchman, or an Imperialift, would be very rational. But for Englishmen to argue thus, has fomething unnatural in it, and looks as if those People had more Regard to the Interest of Holand, or the Emperor, than to their own Country. But that it is still to be hoped the Government, whose Business it is not to do what these People feek, but what is reasonable and just they should do for the Publick Good, will consider well what other Things ought to be finish'd, before Dunkirk be demolish'd. That the Reason why the Demolishing of Dunkirk was limited to a Time, was on a Supposition that the Peace would have been General, and that the Emperor mould accept fuch Conditions as were judged reasonable by the other Powers then in Alliance with him. This His Imperial Majesty not having thought fit to do; if, on the one Hand, the Arms of France are like to be victorious, the Queen has no Tye upon the French, to bring them to grant Terms of Accommodation to Germany, and to restore their Conquests, but the keeping the Town of Dunkirk in her Hands; which the French will be very loth to submit to or fuffer; for it is a gross vulgar Mistake, to think that not to demolifi Dunkirk is a Favour to France; and we should foon find the King of France infift upon its being demolished, since it is out of his Hand, if he should but imagine that the English design to keep it. That on the other Hand, while the War is continued between the Emperor and France, it may be possible, tho' not at all probable, that the Emperor's Arms may be fuccessful: If such an unlikely Thing should happen, let any one judge whether it were proper that Her Ma-

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Vol. VI. were to be wish'd there were no Cause to have faid so much. That upon the whole, 1. Dunkirk is our Security for the Performance of the Articles of the Peace: 2. It is Europe's Security, that the King of France shall give Good Terms of Peace to the House of Austria, tho' his Arms flould be victorious; 3. It is the Securi-ty of our Commerce in Flanders, which is not yet fettled: And that till all thefe 'Things are brought to a Conclusion, it would be most unreasonable to EX-PECT, that Dunkirk should be demoflished. From all this the Author concludes. That whoever he was who put that Letter into the GUARDIAN, peremptorily telling the Government, that the British Nation EXPECTED Dunkirk should be IMMEDIATELY demolished, was guilty of the following Crimes: 1. Infolence, and Want both of Manners and Duty to the Queen, in giving such Language to his Sovereign, on so ill-grounded an Occasion; 2. Falshood, in speaking that in the Name of the British-Nation, which they neither gave him Authority to do, or which the Nature of Things made reasonable. 3. Sedition, in stirring up the People to Mutiny and Disaffection, when there has not been the least Occasion of Discontent given. 4. Absurdity, in arguing for that, which it is the most reasonable

> On the other Hand, several Papers were publish'd this Month, in Order to prove

> Thing in the World, that every true Britain should argue against and oppose.

prove the Necessity of the Immediate De- Vol. VI. molition of Dunkirk; and among the rest, a Pamphlet intitled, DUNKIRK or DOVER, Or the Queen's Henour, the Nation's Safety, the Liberties of Europe, and the Peace of the World, all at Stake, till that Fort and Port be tetally demolish'd by the French: Which was generally affirm'd to he written by Mr. John Toland. Before the Author enters into the main Argument, he prepares his Readers by telling them, 'That, tho' he shall be far from Abstrate of a faying any Thing, at this Time, dero-Pamphlet gatory to the well-known inviolable kirk or Do-Faith and Friendship of His Most ver, Sc. Christian Majesty, Lewis XIV. yet he fhall be as far from sparing any one Man belides, of the French Nation. who are the ancient, the avow'd, the and the perpetual Enemies of Great-Britain: Enemies of that peculiar Stamp, as ever to do us more Hurt in Time of Peace than in Time of War; their Friendship being infinitely • more fatal than their Hatred, and their • Compliments more dangerous than their Blows. That as no Law forbids him any more to repeat the History of former Times, than to write that of the present; so no Man shall terrify him (when a proper Occasion happens) from shewing how in all Treaties before the last, we have been the constant Bubbles in the Cabinet, of those we had as • constantly beaten in the Field; That it was in Times of Peace the French debauch'd our Youth, brib'd our Ministers, undermin'd our Trade, pension'd our § Kings,

"Kings, dissolv'd our best Alliances, and made our e very Nation contemptible: That therefore all Private Engagements between their Kings and ours were commonly suspected by our own People, as well as by the other Nations of Europe; That those Ministers who made the most court to France, or seem'd to have the greatest Dependance upon it, were ever counted the worst, the most corrupt, and the most profligate; as those who 's shew'd the greatest Aversion to their Manners, or · Jealousy of their Designs, and that seem'd to be really fix'd in the Interest or Confidence of the Germans and the Dutch, were ever esteem'd true Brie tons, Men of Wisdom, Integrity, and Publick Spirit. That no fuch Change has happen'd in the Situation or Circumstances of Affairs, as to make us change our old Opinion of the French Genius, their Views, and Politicks. That on the contrary, they are now as much French, and therefore as little English as ever; they are bigotted Papists, and therefore little inclin'd to be Protestants; they are much more powerful, and therefore much more dangerous than heretofore: Spain and the Indies being in the House of Bourbon, they are Masters of Gold, and so may soon be Masters of the Soil of the World. That if under such favourable Aspects he shou'd fee the French People assume their wonted Haughtiness, perceive'em already to chi-chane upon some Articles of their last Treaties, and to avoid the Performance of the most funda-" mental ones; if Portugal were treated with Contempt, Germany like to be over-run, and especially the Elector of Hanover, degraded from his Rank, and his Dignities and Titles bestow'd on a Rebel to the Empire, and a Traitor to his Country: if fuch Things as these should happen, tho' we were not immediately concern'd our selves, he would f then

fo preventing even his Defires, to purchase or to preserve his Favour. That since our Ministers are accountable for all Mal-administrations, how shall

they be brought to account if they are not accus'd? As sooner or later they are sure to be in a Free Nation, and hence therefore it is, that all Corrupt Ministers mortally hate Liberty, especially Liberty of Speech. That 'tis nevertheless stupid Blindness in them to think of preventing this last: For when the People observe any Ministry to do what is evidently to the Diminution and Detriment of their own Country, and that not fo much as a plaufible Reason appears for thus increasing the Wealth or Power of a Foreign Potentate, at first Sight they are too apt to think such Ministers very goodanatur'd or very filly: But when they know them to have Abundance of Cunning and not a Dram of Good Nature, then they very fairly conclude them to be ignominiously brib'd, to be gain'd by ready Money, Honours, Preferments, or any other Hire of Iniquity, either in Present or Expectation. That then too it is that the honest People ever give a Loose to their Tongues, and sometimes likewise to their Hands; or if, in Spite of their unanismoully declar'd Sense about any Thing, those Miinisters should still persist in such destructive Meafures, they plainly perceive that the wretched Creatures are engag'd beyond a Retreat; and then again it is the British Lyon rouses, that he's acted by Honour and Interest, and that (his Patience being 'abus'd) Delinquent Animals are brought to exem-'plary Punishment. That the third Consideration he would premise, is the Use such Ministers make of the Prince's Prerogative, which is to abuse and pervert it. That this is the Choak-pear whereby they endeavour to stop the Mouths of all Adversaries, and under the Shelter of this Gorgon's Head, they presume to stile themselves the Government: So that he that speaks against them, does speak (for sooth against the Government; and what may

he then expect from their Power or Artifice? But in a free Government indeed, these are meer Cobweb Coverings, of no folid Safety to Criminals: For the People, having Rights and Privileges of their own, are thoroughy verst in the Prerogatives and Immunities of the Co-ordinate Legislative States, which ever must be a Check on each other. and between whom there must be kept an exact Ballance and Proportion. That thus the People of Great Britain understand as well as any of their Ministers, that the Prince's Prerogative is twofold, confifting partly in fuch enumerated Particulars. as are ascertain'd to him by express Laws, just as their peculiar Priviledges are by proper Laws e secur'd to them; and partly consisting in certain things for which there being no particular Provision made by Law, it is left to the Prince's · Discretion to do therein what he shall Judge most conducing to the publick Benefit; not for any e separate Views of his own, not to enrich or age grandize his Favourites. That this the Romans us'd to express by ne quid detrimenti Respublica capiat, and a Writer of our own has well defin'd e it to be, the Power of doing Good without Law. That e this discretionary Power being left to the Prince in certain Cases by the Law (as in those of making Peace and War) is therefore it felf a proper part of the Law: And as all Laws are made for the Good of those they concern, so the Prerogative, as in the now-mention'd Cases, ought ever to be effentially exercs'd for the Good of the Nation. That 'tis therefore the plainest thing in the World, that the Prerogative is no more a Justification of concluding a disadvantageous Peace, than beginning an unjust War. I may indeed (adds the Author) by the bare Letter of my Prerogative (let us suppose a good Prince to say) in a Treaty of Feace give away such or such Branches of

Trade from my own Nation to another, by what Motives seever thereunte induc'd; nay, I may throw an Duer-ballance of Power into the Scale of their mortal Enemy: But is this answering the Trust reposed in " me by my People, Prerogative being but another Name for such a Trust? Is this Prudent any more than Honest? Is it the way to recommend my felf to their Love or Allegiance? To the Veneration of the * present, or the Admiration of future Ares? A Prince in short, may abuse his Prerogative, and he may take what follows for his Pains: But this can no 4 more hinder People from complaining, than it will justify the Ministers that Contriv'd, that Negotiated, or that Executed. To talk of being free, and not to dread Slavery above all Miseries; to dread it, and not to warn loadly against it; to warn against it, and not strenuously to oppose it: Is fouring the Circle, transmuting of Metals, Transubstantiation, the Protender, or if there be

e any more abfurd Chimera. ' Having thus prevented the Inferences which • might be erroneoully drawn from the Royal

Prerogative misunderstood, from Ministers that might at any time be better trufted than known. and from the fresh Date of our Alliances with France or any other Nation; the Author proceeds

to shew, that if the 9th Article of the Treaty of " Utrecht (which is unreasonably, He will not say

unfairly, delay'd) be not speedify executed, these 6 Consequences will undoubtedly follow: The Queen's Honour will be fully'd, which will add

ono Credit to the Nation; the Nation it self will

be in Danger, which can be no Safety to the Queen; the Liberties of Europe will be at an End, in which Case we cannot hope to be free;

and the Peace of the World will be disturbed. which nearly concerns our Plenty and Power, as

well as our Safety and Freedom. It will be faid

that this is but one Article: But it is such an Article as goes big with a great many others: All our part of the Peace depends upon it; and if we cannot get this performed for our felves, how shall we be able to procure those Advantages which we have stipulated for our Allies?

To evidence these Consequences, and shew the dangerous and destructive Importance of Dunkirk, the Anthor takes Notice of the 'prodigious Number of Ships taken or destroy'd by the Dunkirkers, of the immense Treasure, and the Millions of Lives miserably dest in the two last Wars. That 'upon these sad Confiderations the Parliament on the 2d of March 1702, address'd the Queen, That for the Security of Her Majestys Dominions, the Preservation of Trade, med the general Benefit of the Allies, Her Majefy would be graciously pleas'd that Care be taken that the Fortifications and Harbour of Dunkirk may be demotish'd and destroy'd. That the Queen was of the same 4 Opinion with her two Houses of Parliament; And accordingly her two most able and unquestionable Plenipotentiaries the D. of Marlborough and the Lord Viscount Townshend Stipulated by the 21st Article of the Treaty at the Hague, that his most Christian Majesty should cause all the Fortisteations of the Town of Dunkirk, its Harbour and Rys-banks, &c. to be rased at his Expence, so that one Half of the aid Fortifications should be rased, and one Half of Harbour fill'd up, within the space of two Months, I the other Half of the Harbour fill'd up in the space wwo Months more, to the Satisfaction of the Queen of reat Britain and the States General; nor should it beermitted ever to re-build the Fortifications, or * to We the Harbour Navigable again directly or indirec That here's an Article clearly and fully word, and had that Treaty ended in Peace, the Pons concern'd would have seen it Executed to Day, and even before the Troops had Cc2

been disbanded. But the French King, when reduc'd to the last Extremity, when on the Point of figning a Peace, that very probably for many Years would have secur'd the Tranquility of Europe, when dispos'd to be quiet himself, and to let o-thers be so too, he had a Door of Hope open'd from some unknown Quarter. That the Project appear'd infallible: For this his Priests and Academecians, those fawning Tools by which this exe perienc'd Monarch utters his Oracles, prepar'd the World by way of Rhetorical Prophesy : doute less, lest so unexpected a Turn should cause too e great a Surprize. He refuses to ratify the famous Preliminaries: pretends to propose an Expedient at Gerrruydenberg: But all purely to gain time, while his good Friends were working elsewhere under Ground. That the Ministry in Ene gland was soon after chang'd, and a private Negotiation being fet on Foot with France, Monsieur Mesnager on the Part of the most Christian King deliver'd to the new Ministers here certain Prooposals or Preleminary Articles, as a sufficient Ground for a Treaty. That how far short soever these may be faid to have come of the Preliminaries of the Hague, yet the Demolition of Dunkirk wa onow also reckon'd a Fundamental Point, withou which nothing could be heard, much less concded; and as fuch mention'd in the Specifick Off's of France, (February 4. 1712 N. S.) in the Pecifick Demands of the British and Dutch PlePotentiaries, on the 5th of March following; the Queen's Speech, to her Parliament, the A of June, the same Year; and stipulated by the Article of our Treaty of Peace. That le Joy this Article caus'd among the Péople of British Dominions, is inexpressible; and nothing an equal it, but the Sadness that appear'd on rr Brows when they saw the time elapst, and r Conditions not perform'd; not se much as a p remov'd

out of the Harbour, no more than one Stone out of the Fortifications: Tho' Whig and Tory, High 6 Church and Low, strove to outry one another in their congratulatory Addresses, when Dunkirk was deliver'd up into Her Majesty's Hands, as a Pledge of the French Kings Bona Fide in the Treaty then on Foot. That therefore it is no Wonder that the Inhabitants of the British Dominions fhould be highly dissatisfy'd, that the Performance of the Article of the Demolition is so long delay'd, contrary to the Faith and express Words of the Treaty. That if this Article so immediately relating not only to our Commerce, but even to our very being an independent Nation, should on not be fairly executed, what Security have we, or in truth can we have, that any of the other Articles of it, especially in remoter Parts of the World, will ever be comply'd with? Not to speak of the Protest ant Succession, or the Spanish and French Renunciations. That as the Demolition of Dunkirk has not only been so solemnly stipulated by Her Majesty, but likewise so unanimously desir'd by her Subjects; fo, in fair Dealing, nothing could be alledg'd in behalf of the French King's bona fide, f unless he were refus'd the Equivalent promis'd, and without actually obtaining of which he was indeed bound to no Performance on his part. That the Commons of Great Britain taking this into their Consideration, did on the third of June last, Adf dress her Majesty, that she would be pleas'd to direct that an Account be laid before their House, what Equivalent was to be given to the most Christian King for the Demolition of Dunkirk; and what is stipulated reflating to Dunkirk, in case the Equivalent should not be comply'd with: To which Address they received ono Answer till the 20th of the same Month, and then but one part of it, that in pursuance of the Treaties, as well between her Majesty and the most Christian

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A Christian King, or between that King and the Seates-4 General, the Equivalent which was to be given for the A Demolition of Dunkirk, is already in the Hands of his most Christian Majesty. That be the Equivalent what it will, and given by the Dutch or us, or both, we have her Majelty's Royal Word for it, that it is already in the French King's Hands: And the Consequence is very natural, that as that King was not to begin the Damelisian till the Equivalent were out into his Hands, so when the Equivalent was honestly put into his Hands, he should as honestly have begun the Demolition. That all the Reasons offer'd, for the Non-performance, of that material Article of the Treaty, were reduc'd to these two : 1. That we should keep Dunkirk to our selves; 2. That we should sell it again to the French. That the first of these Reasons has no Authority but of a few Popish or Jacobite Politicians, whose Business is to divide us among our felves, and from our best Allies. That we are securer far by the Demolishing than the Garrisoning of Dunkirk; in as much as in the first Case it is never to be repair'd, nor indeed can it without our having sufficient Notice to prevent fit: While, in the second Case, we leave a Possibility for the French to re-acquire it by Force, Surprize, or even by Sale under some future corrupt Miniftry; and that the keeping of it would justly raise " Offence and Jealousy against us, not only in the Breaks of the Durch, but of all our other Trading 4 Allies, which is not the Way to advance, improve, or fecure our Trade. And that the keeping of Dunkirk would be a manifest Treachery and Breach of Faith, (a thing for which the Britons have not been infamous during a long Series of Ages) with respect both to the French and the Dutch, which last have paid the whole Equivalent, or at least the better part of it; for Monlieur Mesnager, says, tho English could not furnish it - That 'twas much a-

bout the time the Dake d' Aumon made his publick' · Entry, that the Sieur Tugghe, who stifes himself · Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk, presented an Address to the Queen, begging her to spare the Town and Harbour. Upon which Mr. Toland obferves, That none in Europe is so stupid as to imagine, any Town in France would dare, of their own 4 Heads, to send Deputies to any Potentate whatfoever.: Nor would fuch Deputies dare to come of fuch an impudent Errand hither, unless supported by Hopes better grounded than appears to every Body, but which in time may be made manifest to all the World. That the Loud Bolingbroke having answer'd to Mr. Theehe, That the Queen had read with attention the Address the Sieur Tugghe had presented to her in the Name of the Magistrates of the Town of Dunkirk; and that the had commanded him to let him know, that the beheld with Sorrow the Damages which the Inhabitants of that Town will sustain by the demolition of its Ramparts and Hurbour; but that fie did not think it convenient to make any Alteration in a thing agreed on and determin'd by a Treaty: The Sieur Tugghe not only presented a second Address, to the same Purpose, and caus'd it to be Printed, and dispers'd Gratis, at the Royal Exchange and elsewhere, to try the Pulse of the People; which very much surprized and alarm'd all the World: - That 'tis neither worth frending his own nor other People's time in animadverting particularly upon the ten Reasons he has e given for preserving the Harbour, which he says will not be inconfistent with the Political Views of Great Britain, very well known it feems to the Sieur * Tugghe. That once or twice he sawcily dictates about these same Political Views, (which none but an impudent French-man would prefume) and then with admirable Reach tells her Majesty. That in Times of Peace her Political Views center ALL in the Encrease of the Commerce of her Subjects; meaning,

ono doubt, that she leaves the Care of the rest to the Grand Monarch. That upon the whole we may all perceive, that no Stone is left unmov'd for gaining of time to fave Dunkirk (which, for ought he knows, is destin'd once more for a Port to the Pretender) and this without any regard to her Mae iesty's Honour, both as she's mutually engag'd in the same Assair with the Dutch, who are treated in the Memorial as if they had nothing to do in the Case; and as She's most tenderly affected for the Good of her own People, who unanimously desire and expect to see the demolition so often promis'd and so solemnly stipulated. You'll hear, adds Mr. Toland, a few Papifts and Jacobites, 'tis true, sputter I know not what about the Ministers and the ' Prerogative; and we refer 'em for an Answer to what, for their Information, we have premis'd about both these Heads at the beginning: And they may likewise, if they please, be further inform'd, that Ministry and Prerogative are quite out of this Tis neither our Queen nor our Ministers that are to demolish Dunkirk, but the French King at his own Expence, within a time limited, which time is a good while since elaps'd. That if we are not in a Condition to have thus much perform'd, then it is plain that not only the Queen's " Honour, but our own Safery is at Stake; That He who will not take Law, is able to prescribe Law to the Confederates; that if they will not sit quietly by this, the States of Europe are again forc'd into a War, and forc'd upon so disadvantageous a Foot; in comparison of what they have been in the last (for Reasons needless to recite) that they have but a very f doubtful Struggle left for their Liberties and Independency. That in all the late Treaties the French King appears to be the Godfather as well as the Grandfather of Don Philip, for he answers and engages for every thing in his Name, which ihews

hews that France and Spain are not yet actually divided. That 'tis by the late Peace we are to hope they will be so: But if that Peace is not it self observ'd, then it is evident, that we are to look upon those two Crowns as one Potentate, who, inflead of demolishing Dunkirk, will fortify Dover (the reason of my Title) and not only very easily mafter Holland and the Empire, Italy and Portugal, but e'en set up barefac'd for the Universal Monarchy, which would of course involve the World

' in War. Quod erat demonstrandum.

Mr. Toland having, fince the writing of this feen the Pamphlet entituled, Reasons concerning the immediate Demolishing of Dunkirk, (of which we have already given an Abstract) leaves the Author of it to the Correction of the worthy Author of the Guardian, and only takes Notice of one or two Passages in him, as a Sample of the rest. The first is this: It should be enquired (he says) when the Article of putting Dunkirk into her Majesty's Hands was in Debate, from WHO and from what Foundation came the Addition of that Clause, viz. The Fortifications to be demolished? To this Mr. Toland answers, That the Enquiry is of a Piece with the Sophistical Infinuations of the Exaeminer, and the rest of the French Hackneys against the Dutch, as if this Addition came from the French: Since indeed, this Author affirms, that they were not the British Ministers that demanded the Dee molishing of Dunkirk. That he must needs mean the present Ministers, for which Mr. Toland leaves them to reward him as they shall think meet: For 'tis undeniable Fact from what He has written before, that this Demand proceeded, first from an Address of both Houses of the British Parliament in the Year 1708-9, and next from the Queen's Miinifters at the Haque the same Year, who therein follow'd their Instructions founded upon her Majefly's Answer to the said Address. Now that in Dd this this

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this last Treaty of Utrecht it could not be added by the Dutch, appears from hence beyond Contradiction, namely, that it is exprelly contained in Monf. Mesuager's Preliminaries, to which the Imperalifts and the Durch were absolute Strangers. That he wonders we flould formerly exclaim with formuch Vehemence against the Seding of Dunkirk, and vet be so earnest now for the Demolishing of it: For 'it seems he does not know that destroying it is one thing, and preserving it another. That that old Bargain, he may be fure, will ever redound to the Infamy of all concern'd in it; on which Account he fhall fay nothing about the Supposition of re-felling it: And that the true Reason why no mention was made of demolishing Dunkirk in those Days, was, because neither the Harbour nor Fortifications were then considerable. That all the Consequences which have fince happen'd, were torefeen, as foon as it was known that so many thousand Hands were employ'd to open the Harbour, as well as to build those Castles, Moles, and Sluices that preserve it: Nor were there wanting faithful Monitors then to have them obstructed and deftroy'd; but both our King and our Ministers were too much in the Interest of France, at that time, to hearken to fuch falutary Advices. Not to infift on the immense Sums they received in Pensions, the French King had them belides in a cleft Stick, if we * may use so familiar an Expression: For without his Aid they despair'd of ever accomplishing the hopeful Projects they had then on the Anvil, viz. deftroying the Dutch abroad, introducing Popery, and establishing a Popish Successor at home. That the next fingular Discovery of this Author is, that we keep Dunkirk till our Commerce be advantageously establisht in Flanders, for which he does with great Assurance alledge the Commons Vote, of the 22d of June last, and upon this Occasion gives the Author

of the Guardian the Lye, But the ve- Vol. VI, "ny words of that Vote make himself next the Mercator, the greatest Lyar in the "World; always excepting his Master the Devil and his t'other Master. For what have those, who are to have the Sovereignty of the Spanish, Natherlands, to do with Dunkink? Or what is Dunkirk s to them, which is part of the French 4 King's Dominions? The Towns (fays Mr. Toland in the Conclusion) meant by the Vote, and without which indeed the Vote could have no meaning, must lie in the Spanish Netherlands, in the " Netherlands belonging to those who are to have the Savereignity of them; not in 4 those about whose Sovereignty there was no, Dispute. They were Ghent, Bruges, and Nemport, but not Dunkirk: and the thing is so clear, that I am aham'd to fay fo much about it. More-. over, as to the regulating of our Trade in Randers, it must be own'd, that we meet, particularly from the Dutch, all the fair and reasonable Concessions ima-· ginable in that Affair; belides that they are the trading part of our own Nation, who are most clamorous about the Demolition of Dunkirk, not without reafons that cost 'em dear enough; and with some People's good Leave, they un-' derstand as well as they what belongs to the Security of their Trade. But I fhould not wonder if they were not thought so good Judges of this, when they are not allow'd to be Judges, even in Trade it felf, what Imports or Exports are most advantageous or detri-Dd 2 mental

Vol. VI. i mental to the Nation: But must have "these things explain'd for them, and against their unanimous Sense, by those that never traded in any thing but

Money.

On the 22d of September Mr. Seeele publish'd a Pamphlet entituled, The Importance of Dunkirk consider'd in Defence of the Guardian of August 7th, in a Letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge; wherein that celebrated Writer having premis'd Monfieur Tugghe's Memorial at length; his Letter to the Guardian, with what the Writer of the Honour and Prerogative of the Queen's Majesty Vindicated, &c. and the

Examiner had been pleas'd to fay upon that of Mr. Steele's Letter: He proceeds to his Instification. In Book, ensisuled order to that, fays Mr. Steele, I shall shew The Impor- more accurately the Advantages the Natitance of Dun: 6 on might reap from the Demolition, which birk confider de will appear by confidering what Part of

our Trade has and may be annoy'd by. Dunkirk. - The Port of London is al-

' low'd to carry two parts in three, or

fix parts in nine, of the Foreign Trade of England. We may give one Ninth to the

Ports on the South Coasts of this Island,

which South Coast is opposite to the North

Coast of France; the Sea between which is what we call the Channel. The East

End of this, on our fide, is the North

Foreland, which stands opposite to New-

port in Flanders; the West End, on our fide, is the Lands End, over against Us-

hant, or Brest in France; they allow one

Ninth of the Trade to the East Coast,

washed by the German Ocean; and the other Ninth to the West Coast, which

looks

looks on the Irish Seas: In this Computation, it is presum'd, there's not any great Disproportion, except from Bristol's lying on the West Coast, the faid West Coast ought to be allow'd more than one Ninth. Dunkirk is from the South Foreland about Thirteen Leagues, and the Course from Dunkirk to the Foreland West, North-West, to the Entrance of the River Thames, is North-West about Twenty Leagues; so that any Easterly Wind, which carries our Ships down the Channel, at the fame time brings those of Dunkirk to meet and intercept them. The French have very frequently this last War reaped the Advantage of this Situation, by furprizing many rich Ships, and taking others as they lay at Anchor in the Downs; when the French are dispossessed of Dunkirk, the dread and danger of their Men of War, of any considerable Force, will be removed as far as Breft, which is a hundred and twenty Leagues, or three hundred and fixty Miles; and that of their Privateers, of any Confideration, as far as St. Male's, which is feventy eight Leagues, or two hundred and thirty four Miles. - Breft lies without the Channel, under this great Incapacity to hurt us, that the same Wind which carries our Trade down the Channel prevents the Ships of Brest from coming into it. The East End of the Channel which is so much expos'd to Dunkirk is but seven Leagues broad, and e gives an Enemy an Opportunity of feeing our Ships from Side to Side. The West End of the 4 Channel, for which the greatest Fears are from Brest, is 28 Leagues broad, and of course, there is at that End a greater Chance of escaping the Enemy. If Ships from Brest are appointed to ! way-lay our Ships in the Channel, they must take the Opportunity of Westerly Winds, to come into it; and wait the coming of an Easterly Wind to f carry our Ships down it; by this means they must

'all

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214 all that time be at Sea, expected to all Dangers for want of a Port in which to Harbour their Men of War, or neturn to Breft, which they cannot do with the Wind that brought them out. We must add to this, that if the French from Brest Smuld be hovering to the Baltward of Plimouth, they are between two Pires, from those Ships in the Downs, and those from Plimonth; and our Ships from Portsmouth may chase them either away, while they are way haid at each End of the Channel by the others, not having the Port of Dunkirk, or any other in the Channel to afford them Shelter. flould they be challed up the Channel by a too great Force, before they can return to Breft, they * must either run into the Gorman Ocean, and wait another Opportunity of coming down again, with • the Hazard of meeting all our Men of War; or else sail North about Great Britain, which is at least 150 Leagues more than they need have failed. with the Port of Dunkirk to fly to. This want of Dunkirk will expose them to the same Inconvenience, to which the Fear of it often obliged our running Ships from the South Parts of the World, as well as our East-India Men, during the late War: To this Distress you are to add Wages, Provision, loss of Time, and the dangerous Navigation of the North Seas. From hence it plainly appears, that by the Demolition of Dunkirk, in Case of a Rupture with France, Six Parts in Nine of our Trade, from the Port of London, is 330 Miles remov'd from the Hazards of the last War; and tho' part of this must be exposed when it passes through the Chopps, or Western Entrance of the Chananel, it must be considered, that this it was also liable to before, besides the Terrors of Dunkirk, and that this is only the Southern Trade; and all that go to Holland, Hamburgh, and other Northern Countries, will be quite out of Danger. The

Ninth

Ninth of our Trade on the Bast Coast, would be fill fafer. From thefe diffind Considerations. vou observe only one Ninth of the Trade on the Irifo Seas and Briffol Channel, and bart of the other Ninth in the Coast of the Chane nel (to come at which they are in danger from Portsmouth to Plimouth) is the whole of the British Trade, which after the Demolition of Dunkirk will lye open to the Askults of the French. The Demolition of Dunkirk will in a great Measure secure Geven Ninths of the Trade of England, from the Power of France at Sea, the French having no Port in the Channel but St. Malo's, which can harbour any great Ships, and that it felf can receive none which exceeds 30 or 40 Guns. Breft lies 35 Leagues from the Lizard Point, which is the nearest Land of England; their Ships must have an Easterly Wind to come out, and that will serve them no further than to the Chopps of the Channel, because it blows directly down it. The Courfe to go from Breft to cruife off the Lizard Point in order to annoy Us, is first, West about 13 Loagues, and then North, or North and by East about 30 Leagues more, except they run the hazard of going within the Island of "Uhant which is not practifed, and therefore may be supposed Impracticable. In the last Place, our Charge in defending our felves from such Annoyance as we formerly had from Dunkirk, will decrease in Proportion to the removal of the Danger. Such is the Importance of the Demolition of Dunkirk. with regard to the Trade of England only; and in the present Conjuncture, I think we ought to have something more than the Mercy of his Most.
Ghristian Majesty, to render the sorbearing such Demolition less Hazardous to our Religion and Liberty; and yet you fee, how criminal a Thing it is to say, The British Nation EXPECT the Demolition of it.

It

'It is evident that the Letter to the Guardian, fubscribed English Tory, could have no Prospect but to do Honour and Service to Her Majesty and Her Subjects; the Sieur Tugghe himself acknowe ledges that he has received an Answer from the Queen, by Her Secretary of State, with a Negative to his Petition; upon which here appears a Memorial in Print, expostulating with Her upon that Subject, and laying before Her the Distresses of a Crowd of helpless People, whose Missortunes are to be attributed to Her, if she shall think fit, in behalf of Her own Subjects, to insist upon the Execution of what is stipulated by Treaty: The Sieur Tugghe may insinuate, that it is unmerciful in the Queen to deny his Request, without being taken Notice of; but I must not defend my Sovee reign's Refusal from the Imputation of Cruelty, without being said, to Insult Her Prerogative. My Adversaries argue, That it is in Her Majesty's Power to forward or delay the Demolition as she pleases; be that as it will, do not I do as a faithful Subject, to insist that she does no Cruelty if she pleases to demolish it? The Sieur Tugghe is not contented with this Arrogance, but has fo little an Opinion of our English Statesmen, that he pretends to instruct our Sovereign, and Her Council, in what Political Views they ought to have upon this Occasion; but lest his Assertions may prevail upon that numerous part of Mankind, which has a great while taken every Thing upon Content, I hall have the Patierce to run through all he gives Us as Arguments for our faving Dunkirk, and with the same Tautology; and when He re-' peats the same Thing, repeat also what I have . · faid against it. To proceed then like a Man of f great Gravity and Bufiness.

In Answer to the SIEUR's First.

Donkirk was the Dread of the Datch Trade in time of War, but cannot be the Object of Jealousy of the Dutch with respect to their Trade to Germany and the Austrian Low Sountries, because Newport and Graveling (which are capable of receiving as large Ships as are ever used in that Trade by us) can supply those Countries with the fame Ease; of course Dunkirk is not the only Harbour on this Coast useful to that Trade: As for fecuring the Scheld, that River was many Years, before the two last Wars with France, possessed by the Dutch, who command the Entrance of it by Fort Lillo, which prevents all Foreign Ships from passing up. Nay, so far are they from permitting Foreigners, that none of their own Sea-ships, above the Bulk of Schuyts or Billanders, which we call Smacks and Hoys, are ever allowed to go beyound that Fort. Mr. Tugghe supposes Us to a most onotorious degree Ignorant of common Geography. when he afferts that Dunkirk is the only Port from Oftend Westward, by which Commodities can be brought into the Provinces of the Austrian Low-Countries and Germany. There runs from Calais a Navigable River to Graveling, the River of Grave-4 ling runs to St. Omer; from the East Side of this River run two Canals, one through Bourbourg to Dunkirk, the other directly to Winoxberg: There is a Canal from Dunkirk to Furnes, and another from Winoxberg to the same Place; from Furnes the " Canal runs to Newport, and from thence to Oftend and Bruges; from their Canals and Rivers the Countries of French Flanders, Hainault, and Picardy, have their Water Carriage; nor is there any " Carriage from Dunkirk to the Rhine, Lys, or Scheld, but through the same Streams, except by open Sea; Еe

of that Oftend, Newport, Graveling, and Calais, have the same Water-Carriage which Dunkirk has to any Inland Country, or any Place in the World. What Trade had we through Dunkirk, before, or during the two last Wars? We can have no Trade through Dunkirk (but to the French Territories). which we had not in the last Wars from other

· Harbours. 4 As to the Sieur's Second, We always carried on our Trade to the Austrian Netherlands through. Offend and Newport, fince the Dutch got Possession of the Scheld: the same Conveniency we shall have flill; nor can the Port of Dunkirk, being left open,. be may eafe of Charges on our Trade, or give us. a nearer Passage; neither can the Demolition in the least obstact our Trade, because our Commo-s dities will kill pass through the same Inland Waters, which they must if they are sent through Dunkirk. If it is easie for Her Majesty to obtain from the King a free Passage Custom-Free for all Commo-. dities from England, through Dunkirk, to the Au-· Strian Low-Countries, the may with the same ease. obtain the same through his other Ports. It will be good News to hear he makes no difficulty of granting fuch a Request, because by the same Rule. Her Majesty may obtain an Alteration in favour. of Her Subjects in the Treaty of Commerce, which has been disapproved by the Parliament. If we 6 should at any time be prevented sending our Trade . to the Austrian Low-Countries, any other way than through his Dominions, he will then find us under the Necessity of carrying it on this Way, and demand Tollin a manner fuitable to his great; Power and Force; and how shall we deny it him? If he should grant us this Passage Custom-free, it may be bought too dear; for if we dismantle the Town, and leave the Ports undemolish'd, it is in his Power to take Bossession of it again at Pleasure, and

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and in cale of another War we should be as much annov'd in our Trade as we were in the two laft. and the Town can be eafily re-fortified! He may have a very good View in this: But really I would not have him run the Risque of it; tho it may brove so much for his Advantage; for we all know the Dutch are a fly People, and if the Town flould be dismantled, and the Port left open, they may come and get the Polletton of it, and fortific it again for their own UTe, which I know, out of the great Concern he has for us, and the Welfare of our Trade, he would be utterly against. As to his Toird, It is a falfe Affertion to fay that

there is no other Port serviceable to the Trade of French Flanders, Hainault, Artois, or Picardy, for there are many uleful to this Trade, Oftend, Newport, Graveling, and Calais, whose Waters run into the same Canals that that of Dunkirk does, besides Boulogne, Estaples, St. Valery and Dieppe; for the Trade to Picardy, all these Ports are capable of receiving as large Veilels as ever we made use of in this Trade, which are from 20, 50 or 100 Tuns at most.

As to the Sieur's Fourth, It is well known the Trade may be profitably earried on by other Places than Dankirk; and an Eale of Charge for to Incon-· liderable a part of our Trade is not to be mentioned, in Competition with the hazard of for great a part as, on a Rupture with France, that Place can molest; the rest of this Article is already answer'd, because other Ports can convey our Trade to any

Place that Dunkirk can.

As to Mr. Deputy's Fifth, If the Treaty of Commerce has preferved the Tarm of 1671 in the Gonquer'd Countries, it is preserv'd to Graveling, and other Ports there, as well as Dinkirk.

As to the Sieut's Sixth; The Stress he lays on the List of 218 Ships which was printed in the Mercator No. 29. With their Cargoes, has no Weight in. E ¢ 2

in it. because those Ships might have gone to the Neighbouring Ports; he is also unjust in arguing from that Lift, that the Trade of England there will very much Increase: Whoever looks over the Morestor, will find that their Loading confifted chiefly of Food and Firing, the whole he values at two: Millions of French Livres; the Coals indeed they may always take, as they will other Commodities that Necessity obliges them to, and which they have not of their own Growth or Manufacture, but a constant Market of this kind is not to be expected: It is not to be supposed, because they took these Quantities of Corn and Provisions of us ' in their late famish'd Condition, that they will do the same when they have plentiful Crops; and this whole Sum is but 100,000 l. Sterling, of which the Provisions amount to at least 3 Quarters. Their 'Trade to us standing in a manner upon the Foot of a Prohibition, they could not well pay us any otherwise than with ready Money; but if the Treaty of Commerce should pass, and the Port of Dunkirk remain as it is, the Dunkirkers will foon find Com-· modities to supply us with, tho? they have none of their own Growth. Mr. Tuggbe does not do us · Iustice in this part of the Memorial, because he omitted to tell us, of the Combination of Merchants. who made our People take their own Prices for our Goods, which were fold to Loss, rather than to bring them back again through the Risque of the Seas, and to run the Danger of their being Dama-ged, and of their Perilhing. There might be other Observations made from their want of Corn, of the Advantage we might have taken of their Low Condition.

As to this Agent's Sventh, Mr. Tugghe with great Piety and Charity towards us, prays to God to avert a War between us and Holland, and represents a great many Dangers in it in regard to our Trade

Trade with French Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and Picardy, which is already answer'd, because other Ports can supply them as well as Dunkirk. Now if we should turn the other side of the Matter, I wonder what Danger the Memoralist would represent us from another War with France.

As to the Sieur's Eight, This Article is false, as is already proved; nor do we want him to teach us our Trade to Germany, who would perswade us it is our Interest to trade thither through Dunkirk by Land-Carriage, whose Waters have not any Correspondence with the Rivers of Germany, and to erect Staples and Store-Houses, which would be a good Booty for the French in case of a Rupture; nor can we ever carry it on so safely or cheaply through Countries possessed by France, as we do through Hamburgh, and other Places, by Water Carriage.

As to his Ninth, He has here the Insolence to call it a severe Resolution in the Queen to insist on the Demolition. This is objected to in Answer 2. But his Assertion, that it is absolutely Necessary to the Trade of Great Britain, is the Reverse of

our Case.

As to the Memorialist's Tenth, It is necessary for all Ships to have a Lee-Port to slie to if they cannot get to Windward, or weather a Storm; but All such as have any tollerable Skill in Navigation, know, that our Ships keep their own Shoar abroad, as the French do theirs; and therefore the port of Dunkirk is useless to us. I would fain know, what use our Ships had of that Port for above twenty Years last past. Mr. Tugghe, I am sure, can tell us what English Ships ever resitted there, and how many ever repair'd their Losses; all the World know there have been many Hundreds resitted there to annoy our own Country, and some Thousands suffer'd Losses there

that were never repair d. It is a most desirable Port for the Ships of France, but all English Ships have dreaded it for above twenty Years. The Publick Joy the News of its being to be demolified created this Nation, is a convincing Argument, how much they will in vain regret, as well as all other Na-tions trading to the Norward, that Harbour of Safety. It raises something more than indignation to see a Magistrate of Dunkirk, sent to talk to the Queen of Great Britain, and dictate Rules of Humanity. It will be a great Act of Humanity to infift upon the Demolition of that Town, which has destroyed 6 so many Thousands of Her Majesty's Subjects and their Ships. This is all I have to say to my Foreign Enemy the Sieur Tugghe, and humbly recommending to his Most Christian Majesty the Care of the eighteen thousand Families, I take the Liberty to · repeat to him, that the British Nation EXPECT the Demolition of Dunkirk. 1 am now to face about to my Domestick Foes, by whom I am accufed of the Ingratitude of infulting my Prince, ' while I am eating her Bread.

Mr. Bailiff, It is so far otherwise, that to avoid the least Appearance of it, I did not attempt doing what proceeded from a true Grateful, and Loyal Heart, (viz.) the laying before her Majesty's Ministry, that the Nation had a strict Eye upon their Behaviour with relation to Dunkirk, before I had resigned all, which their Interposition with Her most Gracious Majesty, could take from me; I am so far from eating her Bread, with a Disinclination to her Service, that I had resigned a plentiful Income I had from her Favour, in a considerable Office, and Pension, which incapacitate a Man of sitting in Parliament, to render my self more useful to Her and my Country, in the Station, with which your Borough has since honoured me.

If he is Enemy to the Prerogative, that is fatisfy'd with what he has already, received from his Prince, and gives up all Expectations of ever e receiving more, with no other View, than serving his Prince and Country in a more eminent mane ner than when he enjoyed Employments; if fuch a Man I fay is an Enemy, I am an Enemy: But the Author of the Letter from the Country Whig, e personates that Character so awkardly, and the Examiner, without entering into the Point, treats e me so outragiously, that I know not how to offer against such Adversaries Reason and Argument. without appearing void of both; however, fince it has for some time been the Fallion to run down Men of much greater Confequence than I am, with egeneral Terms, that fall in with the Prejudices and Corruptions of the People, I shall not bear in silence the Acculation of being in the least Degree undutiful to my Most Gracious Mistress, much less of affaulting Her Prerogative. These Writers shall treat me as they think fit, as I am their Brother Scriblen, but I shall not be so unconcern'd when they attack me as an Honest Man: I shall therefore inform them, that it is not in the Power of a Private and an Indifferent Man to hurt the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown, without being punished, if the Ministry think fit, as he deserves, by the Laws of our Country; but true, and real Danger. to the Queen's Honour may arise, if Rersons in Authority tolerate Men (who have no Compunction. of Conscience) in abusing such instruments of Glory and Honour to our Country as the Illustrious Duke of Marlhorough, such wise and faithful Manae gers as the late Earl of Godolphin, fuch Pions, Difinterested, Generous, and Self-denying Patriots, as the Bishops.

'There is no Man will deny, but that it is in the Power of the Ministry to call the Examiner to an Account.

Account, as well as the Flying-Post. It is not for me to enter into the Reasons why they do not do themselves that suffice; but where is Honour. where is Government, where is Prerogative, while neither Age nor Sex, Virtue nor Innocence can have any Redress from the Assaults made upon their Reputation, which is dearer than Life? But fuch Injuries the Examiner repeats every Week with Impunity. But after) have fully answered the specious Pretension of Monsseur Tueghe, concerning the Trade, and vindicated my Sovereign from his treacherous Infinuation, that it would be want of Mercy in Her to insist on the Demolition of Dunkirk, it is incumbent on me to come more close-Iv to the Point with the Pampleteer, and the Examiner; the former says, in his 17th Page, Why must the Queen be attacked with such Insolence, and be told, in terrorem, that the People of Great Britain expett Dunkirk shall be Demolished? The Examiner, as above puts the Stress of his Argument on the same Words in the Guardian.

Accusation, upon saying, the British Nation expetts; you see the difference of a Man's Condition. who acts under the Laws of his Country in General, from his, who acts only under the Prerogative. Here is a Treaty concluded; I am reckoned diffesspectful, because I say, the Nation EXPECTS the Conditions to be complied with; he is a very Loyal Man, who says, the Nation does not EXPECT it; but this wary Politician, the Examiner, says, There are Dangers to be expected from other Powers in the World, as well as Brance; he observes, The Whigs forward to give up our trading Interest to the Dutch, in order to make Friends with them in their other namcless Designs against the Ministry. What has been already said to Monsseur Tugghe, concerning the Advantages the Dutch may reap

6 Both these great Authors lay the weight of the

from the Demolition, is also an Answer to the Examiner: All reasonable Men know, that the Dutch can reap no Advantage, but what must flow from their Industry, and our Negligence, but the Power of France cannot only rival us in Trade, but also when the King pleases (which is mentioned as a Thing possible, not probable) invade us again with. the Pretender, from the very same Place, whence he last set out to visit us, when we have no Troops to defend us, no Allies to succour us: When I think of these Things with Horror, from the Love I bear my Sovereign and Country, they say, I offend the Prerogative. Authors who write for the Prerogative, if they acted like Men of Honour, should be alarmed at the improper Application of it by a Ministry, as much as by any other Acts of their Fellow-Sube jects. It is the Prerogative of the Crown to create Peers of England, but if in the midst of a Quefion in the Legislature, half a Dozen new ones flould march in, and by their Votes turn a Point, upon which our All might depend, would the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown be equally confulted at that Instant? It is the Prerogative of the Crown to make Peace and War, shall the Crown therefore lay down its conquering Arms, and dee liver it felf up to the vanquish'd? A Man is Born with Free-will, does it therefore follow, that it is , lawful to kill himselt? It is the Prerogative of the Crown to make Alliances, and act in Conjunction with their Allies; shall therefore its Armies march with them, in Considence and Friendship, till they come to front the Enemy, and then face about, and leave them in the Day, in the Moment of Distress? But it is a Folly to put Cases, which I hope will never happen among us; for if they flould, the Persons who should transact any Thing Like any fuch Things as I have now mentioned,

be fo far from confidering the Honour of the Prince. that they would diminish and blast it; and be so far from being a Support to, that they would be a Rent-Charge upon the Prerogative. The true Meaning, and Use of the Prerogative is to be interpreted and understood by the Rules of the joint Welfare and Happiness of Prince and People, and all great Genius's in Business in all Nations and in all Ages, have apply'd it in this manner. But from the Example of all Nations, who have lost their Liberty, we see that when for the Sins of a Nation, Men of poor and narrow Conceptions, Selfinterested, and without Benevolence to Mankind, have had the use of their Princes Favour and Prerogative, they think only what they may do, not what they ought to do. All that I have at present to complain of, is, that the Defence of my Queen and Country, and of the most valuable part of our Trade, is trented as an 6 Offence against the Honour and Prerogative of the Crown: I am heartily forry to hear the word Pre-6 rogative introduced with fo much Pomp against fo inconsiderable a Man as my Self, or in the Examiner's Words, against so contemptible a Wretch. this word Prerogative comes to be used to frighten Men from speaking what they lawfully may upon publick Occurrences, it may come to pass hereafter that it may be a Refuge to indifferent Ministers, and they may in time to come protect their Miscarriaeges under that awful Word. It would follow that whatever should be painful or disagreeable to the People, would be imputed to the Prince, whatever flould be pleasing would be attributed to the Miinistry. Ministers would not fail to cover their Fol-· lies, or Iniquities, under the shelter of the Prerogative. What was urged concerning Dunkirk in the Letter to the Guardian, was apparently and pro-

feffedly lay'd before the Ministry, that they might not be unmindful of what the British Nation exped from them; I say again and again, if once Men are so intimidated as not to dare to offer their Thoughts upon publick Affairs, without incurring the Imputation of offending against the Prerogative of their Prince, that Prince, whatever Advantage his Ministers might make of his Prerogative, would bimself soon have no Prerogetive, but that of being deceived: As for my part, I have that fincere and faithful Duty to Her Majesty, that I will never fear to attempt any thing that I amable for her Service, however her Favonr may be intercepted, from the. The Examiner accuses me of lagratitude, as being actually under Salary, when I writ the Letter to the Guardian, but he is mistaken in that Particular; for I had religh'd, not only my Office in the Stampt Duties, but also my Pension as Servant to his late Royal Highness, which her Majesty hath been graciously pleased to continue to the whole Family of that Excellent Prince, I divested my self of all that I was so happy to enjoy by her Majefty's Goodness and Favour, before I would prefume to write any thing, which was so apparently an Advertisement to those employ'd in her Service.

I have thrown away all Expectations of Preferment for the happiness of serving in Parliament, and for the hopes of having a Vote in the Legislature in the present Great Crisis of Affairs: Aslong as I enjoy this Station (from which the Examiner takes the Liberty to suggest I shall be expelled) I shall follow no Leader or Leaders, but Act, that is to say, Vote according to the Dichates of my Conscitence in the publick Service. But I have said, the British Nation Expett; What is there in that of Insolutional Ingratitude to a Queen and a Beaefactres! Nay, What is there in it more or less, the Premissis in my Letter being considered, than the

morial publish'd in Print, is that or worse) after all the Obstacles that could have prevented it on the part of Frances as Her Majesty has been pleas'd to tell Her People, have been remov'd; an honest tho'a mean

Man gives her Majesty to understand, in the best Method he can take, and from the Sincerity of a grateful Heart. That the British Nation Expects the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk; and the Reasons he gives for such Expectations are no less cogent, than the Preservation of Her sacred Person, Her Crown and Dignity, and the Safety and Welfare of the Pcoble committed to Her Charge. He considers the Oueen, in this Case, as the Head of the Constitution of his Country: He considers himself, as a Member of the Community represented in Parliae ment, whether one of the Representative Body, or no: He knows Britons, by their Birth-right, are a part of the Legislature; and knows too, that the Executive Power is a Prerogative or Peculiar vested in the Head of the Constitution, for the Good of the whole; that it attends the Crown, ' Honour and Dignity, and not the Will and Pleafure, or it may be Pallion of the Prince; and as an Evidence of it, is immortal, and ceases not, when the Persons of our Princes are gather'd to their Fathers: He knows too that all Treaties are made. and War and Peace enter'd into, for the common Good; and in an Instance, respecting the present Exigence, which he apprehends to be absolutely Necessary for that End; with a Zealous and Hoe nest Mind, and the warmest Concern for the fatal Consequences that may ensue the Desect of it, tells the Mother of his Country, That the British Nation Expects the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk: Expects it, from the Duty they owe their Queen! from their Care of the Preservation of Her Sacred 6 Life, Her Crown and Dignity! From the Honour and Justice of Her Administration! from the Integrity of Her Councils! from the glorious Advantages of Her Arms! from the Faith and Sinceri-' ty of Her Treaties! from the Veneration and Regard due to Her from His most Christian Majesty. and

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and from the Duty they owe themselves and their Posterity! and is this insolence and ingratitude? My Adversaries are so unjust, as they will not take the least Notice of what led Me into the Necessity of Writing my Letter to the Guardian. They know if they stated it honestly, they must acknowe ledge, that instead of what they call me, I was a faithful Servant to the Queen, and an Honelt Fellow Subject to the Ministry. My Lord Bolingbroke tells the Sieur Tugghe, as a Secretary of State, from the Queen, That his Request cannot be comply'd with; the Sieur prints a Memorial, which is no other than an Appeal to all the weak People in England, against Her Severity. Nay, if the Translator has done him Justice, he has used the very Word Severe. This I take for the utmost infult against the · Queen, and Her Ministry; and instead of allowing my Zeal, I am publickly bereft of the Protection the Ministry should afford me, and all Honest Men, in the Performance of their Duty, and Partizans • who pretend to write for them use me accordingly. I am not to be born with, even when I am for them: But I deserve well of them in this Question s about Tugghe, or else they are not so angry, as I am, at what Tuggbe has done against their Queen. Good God! does this Creature, this Tugghe, come out of his Country, who writ that pious Letter to the Bishop of Paris, wherein Leavings of Fear made His Most Christian Majesty forget His Politicks, and (as if he had feen an Hand of Providence was in it, to his Favour, and our Misfortune) acknowledge he owed his very Kingdom to the Suspension of the English Arms? Does this very Potentate leave to the Burgers of Dunkirk to send some

Body to treat about abating an Article of a Treaty, with the Glorious and Puillant Queen of Great. Britain! Tellie not in Gath, nor publish it in the Streets of Ashkelon! We know not what is the Equiva-

f lent

Vol. VI. for September, 1713. e lent for Dunkirk, but according to the Circumstances. of France, before the Suspension of the English Arms. under the gallant Duke of Ormand, (who would certainly have done his Duty,) the French King has owned that the Equivalent might have been Paris. When fuch was our Case, and such is our Case. fome Men lately preferr'd, and grown too Delicate. would have Men of liberal Education, that know the World as well as themselves, afraid, for fear of offending them in their new Gloaths, to speak when they think their Ogeen and Country is ill · Treated. While I am upon this Subject, I am glad to Obferve, that there are others who take up the same. Argument, and my Servant has just now brought e me a printed Half Sheet, Entituled, A Letter to the Guardian, about Dunkirk. With a great deal of very apt Raillery upon the Madness of the Times. he pleafantly imagines our Language is alter'd of ' late Years, particularly in the Words Good, Safe, Honourable, Advantageous, England, France, Trade, Comperce: He makes the Exeminer the Mint-Master for the New Tongue, and then proceeds in a more ferious and close Manner to argue on the Side of the English Tory's Letter: He speaks of the Examiner in these Words, Nor ee his New Politicks any better than his New Language, be tells us, that the keeping Dunkirk undemolish'd in our Hands, is eur Security against all the Princes concerned besides France. i. e. against the Contederates, as well as against France. It may be a Security against the Confederates, but while it is so, it cannot be a Security against France. France can neither apprehend nor feel any Mischief from it, whilst it is a Bridle against the Confederates. The Reason is plain, France has it in its Power to demolish

it when it will. The IXth Article Says, France is to demolish it in so many Months Time; those Months are expir'd, and therefore France can demolish it when it

will:

will: And whenever France apprehends any Danger from Dunkirk undemolish'd, it will demolish it immediately. Tis therefore plainly for the Good and Interest of France that Dunkirk is undemolish'd. What, do we think we have made a Tool of France? Upon the whole Matter, if there were no other Reason, Argument, or Motive in the World, for the Demolition of Dunkirk, but the Content and Easiness of France in seeing it not Demolish'd, it were sufficient to move an honest Englishman to hope, and wish and pray, that it might be immediately demolish'd, and that some other Bridle might be found out to keep in the Confederates. than that, which is in the French Dominions, and may, whenever France pleases (let us talk what we will) be in the French Hands. What if Dunkirk sould be bestieged, can the poor British Garrison defend it? Shall we raise an Army to recover it? Dunkirk unde-"molish'd may be lost, taken, betray'd, and got again into the Hands of France. Dunkirk demolified is "a Fisher Town again, and can do no harm. This Gen-. tleman argues France has a Power; but I fay, what is more with all honest Men, France has a Right to demolish it; and who shall resist it, when the Great King of France has both Power and Right to demolish it. But alas! who knows how long it will be in his Majesty's Will to do it? I cannot forbear wishing he had deposited the Money in our Hands, before our Suspension of Arms, for the Demolition. I could name proper Persons, that would have been gladly employ'd in that Work, and fome of them are begging in our Streets. The King at that time was low enough, if England had flood out, to have granted that Demand; but it is an Human Weakness not to preserve so lively a Sense of a past Benefit, as we had at the Instant of receiving it. It was thought an hard Article to defire him to dethrone his Grandson, though he had fent him to take, what we then believ'd, ' another

another Man's Country; suppose he should, though he has put it into other People's Possession, at last take Compassion of his own Town? It has cost, to put it in its present Condition above Six Millions, and it would go to a Man's Heart to part with what cost so dear; but he is bound by Treaty, and he must do it, if he pleases.

But as there is this Letter published on my Side, there is another Pamphlet come out on the Examiner's. It is Entituled, Reasons concerning the Immediate Demolishing of Dunkirk; being a serious Enquiry into the State and Condition of that Affair. 1 · like this Man better than any of the rest, for he does not give me ill Language till he gives his Reasons why I deserve it. He talks very kindly thus in the fourteenth Page. We can hardly express how much we are beholding in this Matter to the worthy Mr. Steele, the Publisher of the Guardian, No. 128. I will not be fo unjust to him as to call him the Author; who has effectually fet us right in this Matter, and has e refcued the Town and Harbour of Dunkirk from the depreciating Arts of our Party-Men, who, it was to be fear'd, would have brought it at last so low, that we e might have been made believe the King of France, if we should offer to give it him again, would not accept of it. But the Guardian has taken the Courage to do fustice to the Dunkirkers, and of Consequence to the Ministry, in securing such a Place in the Possession of the Queen; for he has told us expressly, that to take Dunkirk from the French is removing France two or three hundred Miles further from us; that they have not any
Port where they can fit out any Fleet till they come to Brest; that it is of the last Consequence to Britain that it should no more be in the French Power; that the Inigury we have received from them is Inestimable. His "Words follow, "That when Dunkirk is demolished; the Power of France on that Side, should it ever le u turned against us, will be removed several hundred " Miles

Miles further off of Great Britain than it is at present. Wide Guardian, No. 128. As this is an undoubted 4 Testimony given to the Zeal of the Ministry, in taking bold of the present Conjuncture, to get that important · Fortress into our Hands, and is the greatest and most e just Panegyrick which Mr. Steele ever made upon any great Adion in the World, and which, no doubt, be did in Honeur to the Queen, and the present Government; and that the field Mr. Steele has gained the just Approbation of all Her Majesty's good Subjects for so deing, so it is a fair Confutation of all those weak Things which had been advanced by a Party among us, in Prefudice of the late Negotiation; but above all, that it is an unanswerable Argument against our too soon parting with, or too hastily demolishing this Important Place, which is of Juch Consequence to the Nation; and I cannot doubt, bus Mr. Steele did it that Justice with this Intent. For it is impossible a Man of his Penetration. and of his exquisite Politicks, could Argue - He grows in lest here at last, for he knows as well as I do. that I am no great Politician, and I know what he is, perhaps, a little Better than he thinks, But • I shall treat him as the Man whom I suppose him to be, tho' he has not me, as the Man he knows me to be. This Author you fee, allows me, (tho? he did not think it was in me) to have done a laudable Thing towards the Ministry, in my Representation of the Great Service the Demolition of Dunkirk would be; but his Anger against me is raised for the Point of Time, Why must the Demolition be immediate? My Reasons are as follow. First, We have no Right to keep it, but in order to the Demo-Iltion of it. Secondly, The Time was lapfed, within which it was to be demolished? But why did I fay the British Nation expect it should be immedie ately demolished, when the British Parliament had Granted Money to subsist the Garrison of Dunkirk till next Christmas? This is no Argument that the British

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British Parliament did not expect the immediate Demolition; but it is indeed an Argument that · the Parliament had a good Confidence in the Miis nistry, and were unwilling to distress them: For if the Demolition had began the Day after the Pardiament rose, it might honestly have been retarded by stress of Weather, and other Accidents, till a New Parliament should fit at Christmas; and if all 4 Things should have favoured, and the Demolition had been now perfected, my Lord High Treasurer would frand chargeable to the Nation with the Money for the Garrison to Christmas. As for what he fays about our Allies, and something to be expeded from them, I cannot comprehend what he means; but whatever he means, and however Just Demands we may have upon them, his Most Chri-Itian Majesty will not think it any Reason for delaying the Demolition of a Town in his Dominions, in the Hands of another Prince, for Reasons of State to that Prince, and not to His French Maiesty himself. Really this way of arguing is treating us like Children; and as for the Allies, God be their Support, and grant we may all cement again in the Day of Distress. I think all the rest of the Book confists only of Invectives upon poor Me, as Guilty of Insolence, Falshood, Sedition, and Absurdity;

s not think it bore a feconding. I hope I have fully answered all Objections made by my Adversaries against the English Tory's Letter to the Gnardian; But, now Mr. Bail ff, as there have been very unjust Representations given of me, in your Town, as that a Man of fo small a For-

which is written well enough, and would be pretty Entertainment to an ill-natured Man; but I did

tune, as I am, must have secret Views or Supports, which could move him to leave his Employments,

and lose a Crowd of Well-wishers, to subject himself, as he must know he has, not only to the

Disesteem, but also the Scorn and Hatred of very many, who, before he intermedled with the Pubblick, had a Partiality towards him. I answer, that 'I indeed have particular Views, and tho' I may be ridiculous for saying it, I hope I am animated in ' my Conduct, by a Grace which is as little practifed as understood, and that is Charity. It is the 'Happiness and Comfort of all Men, who have a Regard to their Fellow-Creatures, and defire their Good-will upon a proper Foundation, that every Thing which is truly Laudable, is what every Man ' living may attain. The greatest Merit is in ha-' ving social Virtues, such as Justice and Truth ex-' alted with Benevolence to Mankind. Great Qualifications are not Praises to the Possessor, but from the Application of them; and all that is justly Com-" mendable among Men, is to Love and Serve them as it is in your Power, with a Contempt of all Ad-vantages to your Self, (above the Conveniences of Life) but as they tend to the Service of the Publick. He who has warm'd his Heart with Impressions of this kind, will find Glowings of Good-will, which will Support him in the Service of his Country. against all the Calumny, Reproach, and Invective, that can be thrown upon him. He is but a poor c Creature who cannot bear being Odious in the Sere vice of Virtue. Riches and Honours can administer c to the Heart no Pleasure, like what an Honest Man e feels, when he is contending for the Interests of his · Country, and the Civil Rights of his Fellow-Subjects, without which the Being of Man grows Brute; and he can never under it give to Heav'n that Worc ship which is called a Reasonable Sacrifice; nor supe port towards his Fellow Creatures that worthy Disposition, which we call disinterested Friendship. · The highest Pleasure of the Humane Soul consists e in this Charity, and there is no way of making it · fo diffusive, as by contending for Liberty. laying

laying aside the Common Views by which the miftaken World are actuated, a Man of liberal Education can easily surmount those low Considerations, and when he considers himself, from the Moe ment he was Born into this World an Immortal, tho' a changeable Being, he will form his Interests, and Prospects accordingly, and not make Provision for Eternity with perishable Things. When a Man has deeply planted such a Sentiment as this for the Rule of his Conduct, the Pursuits of Avarice and 4 Ambition will become as Contemptible as the Sports. of Children; and there can be no Honours, no Riches. on Pleasures laid in his Way, which can possibly come in Competition with the Satisfactions of an enlarged and publick Spirit. From this Moment I. fhall go on, with as much Vigour and Chearfulness as I am able, to do all that is in my Power, without the least Partiality to Persons or Parties, to remove the Prejudices which English-Man has ae gainst English-Man, and reconcile wounded Brethren, so far as to behold each other's Actions, with an Inclination to approve them. The Man. who will reduce himself to this Temper, will eafily perceive how far his Affections have been wrought upon and abused, from an Opposition to e particular Men, to Sacrifice the Interests of his Country it felf. The proftituted Pens which are employed in a quite contrary Service, will be very e ready to entertain a Pretender to such Reformations, with a Recital of his own Faults and Infir-' mities; but I am very well prepared for such Ufage, and give up my self to all nameless Authors. to be treated just as their Mirth or their Malice directs them. It is the difgrace of Literature that there are such Instruments, and to good Governe ment that they are fuffer'd; but this Mischief is e gone fo far in our Age, that the Pamphleteers do f not only attack those whom they believe in Gene-

e ral Disassed to their own Principles, but even fuch as they believe their Friends, provided they do not Act with as fincere a Prejudice as themselves. Upon the least Deviation from an implicit Hatred to the opposite Party, tho' in a Case which in the e nearest Concern affects their Country, all their e good Qualities are turned to Ridicule; and every Thing which before was valued in them is become Contemptible. Thus in one of the Papers I fend you, a Gentleman, who has distinguish'd himself by a becoming Veneration, in the House of Come mons, for the Assembly, and has ever delivered himself with a Regard to his own Dignity, and that of the Place he was in, is represented frivolously as a Declaimer; and a Noble Lord, who is confpicuously adorned with the Knowledge of Letters, and is Eminent for a lively sprightly Eloquence, e rectify'd by Learning, is declared a Companion fit only for pert Novices and Sophisters. And what is still more Monstrous than all, a third Man of · Quality, for the like Offence, is told in this nice Age of proportioning Rewards to Merit and Service. that he has as much as he deserves. But it is to be hoped, English Men will at last consider, and that the Ministry will see Dunkirk effectually Dee molished.

fectionate Wife, the most constant Priend, the most tender Mother, and has filled every Duty with a Virtue as Superior to the rest of the World, as is Her High Condition: But I shall leave what I have to fay on this Topick, to the Time when the Confequence of it will be infignificant to me, but which I hope will do Her Honour, that is Justice, when I am no more, and the Remains of Her Sacred Perfon, are as common Dust as mine. But as this bright Example is in the Person of a Lady, it canonot be supposed that the general Sense of a People, the Sub-divisions of Affection and Interest among Great Men (to be learn'd only by Conversation with them, even in their unguarded Leafure) can appear to Her but from the Information of fuch as have the Happiness and Honour to lay them before Her. Her Majesty is therefore more particu-Iarly necessitated to rely upon the Intelligence of Her Ministry, and from that very Reason their Fellow-Subjects may be the more Solicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary Rules of Government.
Thus all which they offer for our Security and imvolicite Reliance upon what is transacted by the Court of England, to wit, Her Majesty's Care and 6 Goodness, are Arguments for exerting both our Zeal and our Gratitude; that at any time Artful Men may not take Advantage of the Security we have in Her Virtue, to indulge too much the · Power of any Foreign Prince whatfoever, especially that of the most Warlike Potentate in Europe. I cannot leave this Subject, without being still * Anxious, with relation to the Discespect they accuse me of to my Royal Mistress. All that can be wrested to my Disadvantage, is, that the Queen is 4 concerned when any thing is to be imputed to Her Servants; but I deny that, and perfect in it, that it

s is no manner of Diminution of the Wisdom of a

Prince,

Prince, that he is obliged to Act by the Information of others.

6 If I might make an abrupt Digression from great 4 Things to small, I should on this Occasion mention a little Circumstance which happened to the late King William. He had a French Man who took care of the Gun-Dogs, whose Business it was also to • Charge and deliver the Piece to the King. Minister forgot to bring out Shot into the Field, but did not think fit to let so passionate a Man and eager a Sportsman as the King know his Offence, but gave his Majesty the Gun Loaded only with Powder. When the King missed his Aim, this Impudent Curr stood Chattering, Admiring, Commending the King's Skill in Shooting, and holding up his Hands, he had never seen Sa Majeste miss before in his whole Life. This Circumstance was on manner of Argument to those (who afterwards found out the Fellow's Iniquity) against the King's · Reputation for a Quick Eye, and Shooting very finely. I am, with Respect to the Borough, and vour felf. Sir, Your most Humble, and most Obedi-Richard Steele. ent Servant,

Whatever Regard the Ruling Powers had to the great Clamours that were rais'd about Dunkirk, 'tis certain that about the Col. Arm. Beginning of September Colonel Armstrong strong & Col. and Colonel Clayton were, by a Patent un-Clayton ar der the Great Seal, appointed Commission-pointed Commers for ners to see the Fortifications of that Place the Demolition demolished and rased; and at the same of Dunkirk. time, two Captains of Men of War were by the Admiralty, named to see the Harbour ruin'd and fill'd up. Accordingly, on the 7th of September the two Colonels set out for Dunkirk, where Three French Battalions and as many Swiss being come

on the 24th, and encamping the one Vol. VI. without Port-Newport, the other without Port-Royal, they began on the 26th on begun Sept.
the Demolition, the French between the 26th. Two Gates before mention'd, and the Swiss between the Bason and the Citadel. That Day they pluck'd up a good Number of Palissades, and threw down some of the Traverses; And continued working the 27th and 28th, till Three in the Afternoon, when a Dispute arose be- A Dispute atween Sir James Abercromby the British bout the Man-Commandant, and Monsieur le Blane the ner of Carry-French Intendant of the Province, abouting is onthe Manner of carrying on the Demolition. The French, it seems, intended to have made a Breach in the Ramparts. or Main Fortifications, of the Town, but the two English Commissioners having made the Commandant Sensible, that if the same was permitted, the English Garrison were not Safe, and the French might easily make themselves Masters of the Place, Sir James Abercromby infifted, and it was, at last, agreed to by Monsieur Le Blane, that all the Out-works, both towards the Sea and the Land, should be first demolish'd; next the Harbour ruin'd and fill'd. afterwards the Main Fortifications of the Place razed and destroy'd; and last of all the Citadel. This Point being cleared the French and Swifs Soldiers fell to Work again on the 29th about Noon; and the next Day began to remove the great Guns from Fort Gaillard, Fort de Revers, the Risbank, and the Two Forts at the Heads or Entrance of the Port; and H h the

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Miners began to make Vol. VI. the in order to blow up these Forts, and

General Ca-the other Out-works.

dogan waiss General Cadogan, who about the been the Queen. ginning of September was chosen one of the Representatives of Woodfock in the ensuing Parliament, arrived in Landon the 8th, and a few Days after had the Honour to wait on Her Majesty at Wind-

for.

About this Time the Earl of Plymouth The Earl of Plymouth Ld was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Che-Lieutenant of there and North-Wales, in the Room of and Viscount the Earl of Cholmondley; and the Lord Vifcount Bulkeley Constable of Carnarvan Ca-Bulkeley, Constable of stle, in the Room of the Barl of Rad-Carnaroan nor.

CAffle. About this Time likewise a Third The Earl of Place of one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, which had been vacant ever State, and the fince the Death of the late Duke of E. of Finlater Queensberry and Dover, was bestow'd on Chancellor of the Earl of Mar; and the Earl of Finscotland. later and Seafield was made Chancellor of Scotland, and Keeper of the Great-Seal

there.

The Marquis Queen.

The Marquis de Miremont, whom the de Miremont Queen had sent to Verecht with a Commission to take Care of the Interest of the French Protestants, being come over, waited on Her Majesty, at Windsor, on the 11th of this Month, and was very graciously receiv'd. After he had given her Majesty an Account of what he had done in Pursuance of Her Majesty's Orders; and return'd her Majesty Thanks, for procuring the Inlargement from the Gallies

lies of France of 136 Confessors of the Vol. VI. Protestant Faith; he desired her Majesty Protestant Faith; he defined ner majerty

He and the still to interpose her good and pious Marquis de Offices for the Deliverance of 185 more Rochegude. of those poor Sufferers, who were still speak to the detain'd in the Gallies upon the same Queen in be-Score. About the same Time the Mar-half of the Score. About the same sime the war Prosestants on quis de Rochegade, being at Windsor, had board the Galan Opportunity to speak to her Majesty lies. in behalf of the faid Confessors; and deliver'd into her Majesty's Hands Letters from the States General, and the Princess Sophia, to the same Purpose. The most Generous and Pious Queen, who understood that all the French Protestant Sufferers had been enlarg'd, was extreamly Surprized and Grieved to find there were so many yet under Affliction, and defired the Marquis de Rochegude to give her a List of them; which the Marquis did accordingly. On the other Hand, the most Reverend and most Charitable Prelate, the Lord Archbishop of back d by the York, Lord Almoner to her Majesty, having Abp. of York, been throughly inform'd about this Matter, his Grace, with Zeal truly Apostolical, feconded both the French Marquesses's Sollicitations: So that 'tis hoped the same will prove effectual.

An Advertisement had been inserted in the London Gazette, whereby the Ld. Loan proposed High Treasurer proposed to raise the by the Lord Sum of 300000 l. for Paying off Part of her Majesty's Navy, by way of Loan, on the Security of the South Sea Stock, depolited for that Purpole, into the Hands of the Chambe lain of London

Hh 2

Vol. VI. London, and the Deputy-Tellers of the Ex-U chequer. Whether Moneyd-Men did not like the Security, or the Trustees; or whatever was the Reason, not above 70000 l. were subscribed into this Loan, in Six or Seven Weeks, which made many believe, it would never fill'd up. But upon an Order issued out on the 9th of September, by the Lord Treasurer, importing, that whoever should subscribe 1001. to the said Loan, should be entitled to buy ten Tickets of ten 1. each in the Houshold Lottery of 500000 l. there was the next Day such a Crowd of Subscribers, both at the Exchequer and Guild Hall, that above the said 30000l were subscrib'd. Hereupon, the Lord Treasurer emproving the Opportunity and Eagerness of the Money-Adventurers, enlarged the Loan to 300000 l. which in a few Days was fill'd up, as was, at the same Time, the Lottery of the like Sum. By this Means the Lord Treasurer

He raises a Million Sterling in Two or raised a Million Sterling, in Two or Three Day's Three Day's Time; And 'tis remarkable Time. that the Stock Jobbers having engross'd

great Part of this Subscription, Tickets of the intended Lottery, were at first sold at 15 and even 20 Shillings

Advance.

Mr. Grainger About the Beginning of September made Deputy Thomas Grainger Esq; was made Deputy Mr. Sartre Denbigh; and on the 3d died Mr. Sartre, Teller. dies.

one of the Prebendaries of Westminster; whose Prebend was, a few Days after, Ecclesiastical bestow'd on Mr. Thomas Sprat, Archdeacon Preferments.

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of Rochester. At the same Time Mr. Vol. VI. Thomas Gibbon, M. A. was made Dean of

Carlifle.

The Duke of Shrewsbury having, about The Duke of the Middle of September, been declared Shrewsbuay Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Ire-Ld. Ls. of Ireland; and land, his Grace appointed Sir John Stanley Sir John Bart. to be his Secretary. It is to be Stanley bie observ'd, that his Grace retain'd his Secretary. Office of Lord Chamberlain of her Maiesty's Houshold.

About this Time a Commission pass'd Commissioners the Seals, appointing the following Com- of Trade and missioners for Trade and Plantations, Plantations. viz. Francis Lord Guilford, Sir Philip Meadows Sen. Kt. Robert Monckton, Arther Moor, John Hynd Cotton, John Sharpe, Samuel Pytts, and Thomas Vernon, Eigs;

On the 21st. died Charles Fox Esq; Mr. Fox dies.

Member of Parliament for New-Sarum.

About the same Time, it was made The E. of Ilay publick, That the Earl of Ilay, Brother removed. to the Duke of Argyle, was removed

from his Employments in Scotland.

On the 6th of September, the Cavalier The Envoy Giraldi, who had resided here several Extraordina-Years with the Character of Envoy Ex-post Tuscany traordinary from the Great Duke of ence of Leave Tuscany, being recall'd by his Master, had a private Audience of the Queen at Windsor. About a Fortnight after, it was publickly declared, That Charles named Envey Ross Esq; Colonel General of the Dra-Extraord. 10 goons, and Lieutenant General of her France. Majesty's Forces, was appointed to go Envoy Extraordinary to the Most Chri-

Ciau.

Vol. VI. stian King; and on the 22d he had the Honour of Killing her Majesty's Hand.

On the 10th of September, George Lock-hart, of Cernwarth Elq; was at Edinburgh unanimously chosen Member of Parliament for that City; after which a great Number of the Inhabitants drew up and

Perition fign'd figured a Petition to be presented to the ar Edinburgh House of Commons, for the bringing in a for dissolving Bill to dissolve the Union. This done the Populace went to the Parliament-Close in Edinburgh, and there, by the Statue of King Charles II. drunk Healths to the Queen, the Dissolution of the Union, and all true Stotch-Men; and afterwards went to the Market Cross and did the like, with loud Acclamations. It was also confident-The Scotch ly reported, and publish'd in the Foreign

Merchants re- Prints, that about this time, the Scotch France.

present their Merchants, caus'd an Address, or Petition the King of to be presented to the most Christian King, by Mr. Arthburnet, their Agent at Roan, representing their Grievances, in Point of Trade, and sother Matters, and desiring his Majesty's Protection for Redress; in Consideration of the ancient Alliances between France and Scotland: But what Ground there was for this Report, I leave undetermined.

On the 29th of September, being Micha-Sir Samuel Stanier chofen elmas Day, Sir Samuel Stanier, Knight, Al-Lord Mayor. derman next the Chair of the City of London, was according to Custom, and a late Agreement, unanimously chosen Lord Ma-

vor for the Year enfuing.

Disputes in SomeWeeks before the Election of a Lord Dublin about Mayor for the City of Dublin occasion'd there a Choice of a unhappy Lord Mayor.

unhappy Disputes. The Aldermen ha- Vol. VI. ving made Choice of Mr. Pleasantt, the same was strenuously opposed by the prefent Lord-Mayor; and the Decision of this Difference being left to the Privy-Council, their Lordships, having, two Days successively, heard Arguments on both sides, came on the 4th of Sepsember to these Resolutions: 1ft, That tis the Opionion of this Board, that the Lord-Mayor of the City of Dublin for the time being has the Right of nominating three Aldermen to be put in Election for Lord-Mayor of Dublin; and that the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen are obliged to Elect one of the three Aldermen fo nomie nated to be the succeeding Lord-Mayor, unless just Objections be made against them. • 2. That the Proceeding of the faid feventeen Aldermen in the Election of Alderman Pleasants for Lord-Mayor, and James King for Sheriff for the enfuing Year, in the Absence of Sir Samuel Cooke, Kt. Lord Mayor of Dublin, is a Breach of the New · Rules, and such their Elections are null

six Days * after, the Lord Mayor fent a Summons to the feveral Aldermen to meet, in order to proceed to a new Choice of a Lord Mayor, and in pursuance of the Resolution, of the Council he named these, Sir William Founes and Aldermen Constantine and Mason, being the same that were in Nomination before; but twenty of the Aldermen insisted on a previous Question touching the first in Nomination, and offered some Objections to him, upon which the

* Sept 10th.

Vol. VI. the Lord Mayor having dissolved the Court, nothing was determined. His Lordship thereupon petition'd the Coun-

Lordship thereupon petition'd the Councel; But that Dispute being yet undecided, we shall take no further Notice

of it in this Place.

observations All this while the Elections for Parons for, Parlia liament-Men were carried on in Great ment Men in Britain, with great Application and Ani-GreatBritain mosity by the Two contending Parties:

but in most Places, with visible Advantage, not to fay Partiality, for Court, or Church-Party; which occasioned many warm Disputes, particularly at Bristol and Ailesbury. The Whiges, or Low-Church Party to shew their Concern for Trade, and especially for the Staple Commodity of England, did in most Places, distinguish themselves by wearing Locks of WOOL in their Hats; as the Opposite Party did by Oaken green Boughs, to shew, as some pretended, their firm Adherence to the Royal Tree, Monarchy, and Hereditary Right. Be that as it will, 'tis observable, that notwithstanding the Weight of the Court Interest, the Tory Party were worsted in some Places, particularly in the Election for the County of Surrey, where Sir Fran-cis Vincent lost his Election by a great Majority; but then the other Elections going generally for them, by the Odds of about Two to One, many that had suffer'd a Repulse, were thereby encouraged to lodge Petitions against their Whigeish Competitors. As for the Electiions

ens in Scotland they were observed to be Vol. VI. the Reverse of those in England, there

being two Whiges to one Tory.

The Election for the City of London being put off till the 12th of Offoher, we shall only take Notice in this Place. that it was a long while uncertain who should be set up in Competition with the Four Old Members, that were put in Nomination by the Court Party: But on the 23d of September it was made publick that Sir Peter King, Knight Recorder; Thomas Scawen, John Ward, and deser for the Robert Heyskam, Esqs; three Wealthy and City of Lon-Eminent Merchants, and no less affected don; to the Church and Monarchy than the other Four; were fet up by the oppofite Party, to represent this Trading City in Parliament. However, Sir Peter King, who was already chosen for another Place, having declined to stand here, at a Meeting of above a thousand eminent Citizens, at the Swan Tavern over against the Royal-Exchange, in which Mr. Cook, a Turkey Merchant made an excellent Speech, about the Necessity at this important Crisis, to chuse Persons well vers'd in Commercial Affairs, it was unanimously resolv'd, That the Three Merchants before mention'd, and Peter Godfrey Esq; should be put in Nomination, against Sir Richard Hoare, Sir William Withers, Sir John Cass and Sir George Newland.

Most of the Elections being by this sime over throughout Great Baitain, we have thought sit to present our

Readers

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The POLITICAL STATE

of VI. Readers with a DOUBLE LIST, of Both Houses, both of the LAST and NEW PARLIAMENT, in which We have thought fit to leave a Blank for the New Members of the City of London, which shall be inserted in our Next; and may then be casily put into the faid Lift by our Rea-

FINIS.

A

COMPLEAT

LIST

OF

Both HOUSES

O F

The last and this Present

PARLIAMENT.

OF THE

Note, Those marked thus * are under Age.

DUKES, &.

Simon Harcourt, Lord Harcourt, George Fitz-Roy, D. of Nor-Lord High Chancellor of Great

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treafurer of Great Britain.

John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, and Normanby, Lord Prefident of the Council.

William Leg, Earl of Dartmouth Lord Privy Seal.

Thomas Howard, D. of Norfolk, Earl Marsbal, and Hereditary Marfall of England.

John Poulet, Earl Poulet, Lord Steward of the Queens Housbold. Charles Talbot, D. of Shrewibury, Id. Chamberlain of the Queens Houfbold.

Charles Seymour D. of Somerlet.

Charles Fitz-Roy, D. of Cleveland and Southampton.

Charles Lenos, D. of Richmond. Charles Fitz-Roy, D. of Grafton James Burler, D. of Ormond. Henry Somerset, D. of Beautort.

thumberland. Charles Beauclair, D. of St. Al-

bans.

Charles Pawlet, D. of Bolton. Meinhartd Schonberg, D. Schonberg.

Peregrine Ofborne, D. of Leeds. * Wriothelley Ruffel, D. of Bedford.

William Cavendish, D. of Devonshire.

John Churchill D. of Marlborough.

John Manners, D. of Rutland. John Montagu, D. of Montagu. George Augustus, Prince Eletto. ral of Hanover, D. of Cambridge.

* James Hamilton, D. of Hamilton and Brandon.

* Charles Douglas, D. of Dover. Henry de Grey. D. of Kent.

MARQUIŚSES. Robert Bertie, Marquiss of Lindsey Ld. Great Chamberlain of **England**

Evelyn

Evelyn Pierpont, M. of Dorche-I George Brudenal, E. of Cardifter EARLS. James Stanly, Earl of Darby *Theophilus Hafting, E. of Huntington Thomas Herbert, E. of Pembroke and Montgomery Henry Clinton, E. of Lincoln Henry Howard, E. of Suffolk and Bindon, Defini Karl Mar-Lionel Cranfield Sackville, E. of Dorset and Middlesex Iames Cecil E. of Salisbury John Cecil E. of Exeter Scroop Egerton, E. of Bridgewa-

ter John Sidney E. of Leicester George Compton, E. of Northampton

* Edward Henry Rich, E. of Warwick and Holland Bafil Fielding, E. of Donbigh. Pawlet St. John, E. of Bolingbroke

Thomas Fane, E. of Westmor-

Charles Montague, E. of Manchefter

Henry Bowes Howard, E. of Berkshire

William Savage, E. Rivers Charles Mordaunt, E. of Peterborough and Monmouth Thomas Grey, E. of Stamford

Philip Stanhope, E. of Chefterficid

Thomas Tufton, E. of Thanet Charles Spencer, E. of Sunderland

Nicholas Leak, E. of Scardale Edward Montague, E. of Sandwich

EdwardHyde, E. of Clarendon

* William Capel, E. of Effex

gan

Arthur Annelley, E. of Angle-

Charles Howard, E. of Carlifle Thomas Bruce, E. of Ailesbury * Richard Boyle, E. of Burling-

* Anthony-Ashly Cooper, E. of Shaftsbury

Edward-Henry Lee, E. of Litchfield

Thomas Lennard, E. of Sullex Charles Bodvile Roberts, E. of Radnor

William Pafton, E. of Yarmouth James Berkley, E. of Berkley Daniel Finch, E. of Nottingham

Montagu-Venables Bertie, E. of Abingdon

Baptist Noel, E. of Gainsborough

Robert Darcey, E. of Holdernels Other Windsor, E. of Plimouth

James Ratcliff, E. of Derwentwater

Henry Stafford Howard, E. of Stafford

Henry Bentinck, E. of Portland Arthur Herbert, E. of Torring-

Richard Lumley, E. of Scarborough

George Booth, E. of Warring-

Richard Newport, E. of Bradford

Frederick Zuleftein, E. of Rochford

Arnold Jooft van Kepel, E. of Albemarle

* Thomas Coventry, E. of Coventry

Edward Ruffel, E. of Orford William Villiers, E. of Jersey

Henry d'Auverquerque, E. of Grantham

John

John Campbell, E. of Greenwich (and D. of Argile) Thomas Wharton, E. of Wharton Francis Godolphin, E. of Godol-Hugh Cholmley, E. of Cholmley Thomas Wentworth, E. of Straf-

viscounts.

Price Devereux, Viscount Hereford Henry Brown, Vis. Montacute Lawrence Fienes, Vis. Say and Sele.

Thomas Bellafyle, Vif. Falconberg.

Charles Townshend, Vif. Town- Edward Leigh, Ld. Leigh

Thynne, Vif. Wey-Thomas mouth.

William Hatton, Vif. Hatton. * Talbot Yelverton, Vif. Lon-

guevile. * Richard Lowther, Vis. Lons- Marmaduke Langdale, L. Langdale.

Henry St. John, Vif. Bolingbroke.

BARONS.

George Nevil, Ld. Abergaveny * James Touchet, Ld. Audly. John West, Ld. De la War. Robert Shirley, Ld. Ferrers. Charles Mildmay, Ld. Fitzwal-

* Edward Ward, L. Dudly and

Edward Stourton, Ld. Stourton George Verney, Ld. Willoughby of Broke.

Willoughby, Ld. Willoughby of Parham.

Henry Paget, Ld. Paget and Burton

Thomas Heward, Ld. Howard of Effingham.

William North, Ld. North, and LA. Gray of Rollefton.

James Bruges, Ld. Chandos.

William Ferdinand Cary, Ld. Hunidon.

---St. John Ld. S. John of Bletsho * Thomas Petre, Ld. Petre.

Thomas Arundel, Lord Arundel of Wardour.

Rowland Dormer, Ld. Dormer. Henry Roper, Ld. Tenham.

* William Grevil, Ld. Brook. * Nevil Lovelace, Ld. Love-

lace.

Banister Maynard, Ld. Maynard Charles Howard, Ld. Howard of Escrick.

William Byron, Ld. Byron William Widdrington, Ld. Wid-

drington. John Colepeper, Ld. Colepeper Lewis Watson, Ld. Rockingham

Robert Sutton, Ld. Lexington

dale William Berkeley, Lord Berke-

lev of Stratton Charles Cornwallis, Ld. Corn-

wallis

Nathaniel Crew, Ld. Crew, and Ld. Bifbop of Durham

*John Arundel Ld. Arundel of Trerice

*William Craven, Ld. Craven *Hugh Clifford, Ld. Clifford of Chudleigh

*William Henry Ofhorne, Ld.

Osborne John Carteret, Ld. Carteret Charles Bennet, Ld. Offulfton William Stawell, Ld. Stawell Francis North, Ld. Guildford James Waldgrave, Ld. Waldgrave

Iohn

ham William Farmer, Ld. Leimpster Charles Butler, Ld. Buttler of Weston Hen. Herbert, Ld. Herbert of Cherbury Maurice Thompson, Ld. Haverfham John Sommers, Ld. Sommers Christopher Vane, Ld. Bernard Charles Mountague, Ld. Hali-Heneage Finch, Ld. Guernsey John-Leverson Gower. Ld. Gower. Francis Seymour Conway, Ld. Conway John Hervey, Ld. Hervey William Cowper, Ld. Cowper *Thomas Pelham, Ld. Pelham James Compton, Ld. Compton Charles Bruce, Ld. Bruce George Hay, Lord Hay. Thomas Windsor, Ld. Winsor Thomas Manfel, Ld. Manfel Thomas Willoughby, Ld. Mid-Thomas Trevor, Ld. Trevor George Grandville, Ld. Lanf-Samuel Masham, Ld. Masham. Thomas Foley, Ld. Foley Allen Barthurft, Ld. Bathurft Robert Benson, Ld. Bingley ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS.

Chefter Norwich Bilbop of St. Alaph. Billop of Chichester. Dr. Thomas Tennison, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ford. Dr. John Sharp, L. Archbishop of Dr. Adam Ottley, L. B. of St. York David's. Dr. John Robinson Lord Bishep Dr. Francis Atterbury, Lord Biflop of Rochester. of London

Tohn Afhburnham, Ld. Ashburn- | Dr. Nathaniel Crew, L' Biffion of Durham and Lord Crew Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bar. L. Bilbop of Winchester Dr. William Lloyd, L. B. of Worcefter Dr. Gilbert Burnet, L. B. of Sa. rum Dr. John Hough, Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry Dr. John Moore, L. Bifbop of Ely Dr. Richard Cumberland, Lord Biftop of Peterborough Dr. Edward Fowler L. B. of Gloucester Dr. William Talbot, L. B. of Oxford Dr. John Evans L. B. of Bangor Dr. William Nicolson, Lord Bistop of Carlille Dr. George Hooper, Lord Bifboy of Bath and Wells Dr. William Wake, L. B. of Lincoln Dr. John Tyler, L. Biftop of Llandaff Dr. Offspring Blackhall, L. B. of Excter Sir William Dawes Bar. L. B. of Dr. Charles Trimnel, L. B. of Dr. William Fleetwood, Lord Dr. Thomas Maningham, Lord L. B. of Briftol Dr. Philip Bis, L. B. of Here-

PERRS OF SCOTLAND!

Last Parl.

John Murray, Duke of Athol.

The Duke of Athol.

William Johnson Marquiss of An- Earl of Marr.

nandale.

James Ogilby Earl of Seafeild. E. of Eglington. John Eirskne, Earl of Marr E. of Kinnoule.

Alexander Montgomery E. of E. of Loudoun. Eglingtoun

Alexander Hume E. of Hume E. of Finlater and Scafield.

Thomas Hay, E. of Kinoul E. of Selkirk.

Hugh Campbell E. of Lowdon
David Carnagie E. of Northelk E. of Dundonald.

George Hamilton, E. of Orkney E. of Brodalbine.

George Hamilton, E. of Orkney E. of Brodalbine. 'Archibald Primrofe, E. of Rofe- E. of Dunmore.

bury
James Leviston E. of Linlithgow E. of Orkney.
Archibald Campbell, E. of Islay E. of Roseberrie.
William Levingston, Visc. Kil-

fyth

I. Elphinston, Lord Balmerinoch E. of Kilfyth.

Walter Stuart, Lord Blantyre The Lord Balmerinoch.

嚝媙嚝澯滐栥潊嚝搲搲嚝椺椺椺椺膌膌膌膌膌膌竤嚝嚝嚝竤竤竤竤竤竤竤竤竤

THE

HOUSE of COMMONS.

Note, those with this Mark [*] were for the Articles of Commerce, those who were against it, are mark'd thus [+].

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Old Park

New Park

BEDFORDSHIRE. 4.
The Right Hon. Lord Edward Ruf- Sir Pincent Charnock.

† Sir William Goftwicke, Bar. John Harvey Efq; Town of Bedford.

† John Cater, Efq; Ditto.

† William Farrer, Efq; ____ Roult Efq;

* Sir John Stonehouse, Bar. dino.

Bobert Packer, E/q; disto.

Bo:

```
Borough of New-Windsor.
+ Richard Topham, E/4;
                               Christopher Wren E/q
Charles Aldworth, Efq.
                               disto.
                     Borough of Reading.
+ Owen Buckingham, Efq.
                               Fælix Calvert Efe
* John Dalby, E/q;
                               Robert Clargis Efec
                    Borough of Wallingford.
Simon Harcourt, Efq.
                               ditto.
* Thomas Renda, Efq:
                               Rich Bigg Efe
                   Borough of Abinedov.
                               The Hon. Simon Harcourt. Elm
+ James Jennings, E/G
                       11
                               K S. 14.
Rt. Hon. John Ld. Vif. Fermanagh ditto.
Sir Edmund Denton, Bar.
                               L Fleetwood, Flee
                    Town of Buckingben.
+ Sir Richard Temple, Bar.
                               Dr. Ratcliffe.
* Thomas Chapman, Elas
                               ditto.
                 Borough of Ghipping Wichub.
+ Sir Thomas Lee, Bar.
                             ditte
* Charles Godfrey, Efq;
                               Sir John Whitrong, Bare
                   Borough of Ailesbury.
 John Effington, Effi
                               ditto.
 * Simon Harcout, E/q;
                               ditto.
                   Borough of Agmondesbam.
* Montague Drake, Efg. ditta.
* Francis Duncombe, Efg. The A. Hod. Lok Fermanaga.
                   Borough of Wendover.
+ Sir Roger Hill, Ks.
                              . ditto.
                               Rich. Hambden, Eje
+ Henry Grey, Esq.
                   Borough of Great. Marlow.
 + Sir James Etheridge, Kt.
                               ditto.
  George Bruere, Efq;
                                ditto.
                   GAMBRIDGSHIRE. 6...
                             ditto
+ John Bromley, Elq;
+ John Jennings, Efq;
                                ditto.
                    University of Cambridge.
+ The Hon. Dixie Windfor, Efal dino.
 † Thomas Pask, L. L. D.
                     Town of Cambridge.
 * Sir John Hynde Cotton, Bar, ditto.
if Samuel Shepherd, Junior, Efq. Altro-
                      CHESHIRE &
 + Sir George Warburton, Bar. ditto.
 † Charles Cholmondely, E/q;
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City .

City of Chefter. New Parl. Laft Parl. + Peter Shackerley, Esq. ditto. disto. Sir Henry Bunbury, Bar. CORNWAL 44 ditto. * Iohn Trevanion, Esq; Sir William Carew. Sir Richard Vyvyan, Bar. Dunbivid, alias Launceston. Francis Scobel, E/4; - Antis, Efg; - Hearle, E/q; * George Clerk, E/q; Borough of Leskard. ditto. William Bridges, Esq; ditto. Philip Rashleigh, E/4; Borough of Lestiebwel. Sir Tho. Clarges, Kt. Hugh Fortesque, Esq; * Major-General John Hill. Erasm. Lewis, Esq; Borough of Truro. Will. Collyer, Esq; Hugh Boscawen, E(q)Henry Vincent, Senior, Efq; ---- Hare, E/q; Borough of Bodmin. * The Hon. Ruffel Robarts. - Slater, E/q; ditto. The Hon. Francis Robarts. Borough of Helston. Hen. Campion, Esq; Sidney Godolphin, E/q; Ch. Cox, E/q; * Robert Child, E/q; Borough of Saltasb. * Sir William Carew, Bar. William Shippen, B/q; * Jonathan Elford, Efq; ditto. Borough of Camelford. Paul Orchard, Esq. . J. Nicholls, E/q; * Sir Bouchier Wray, Bar. ditto. Borough of Port pigbam, alias Westlow. Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Hedges, Kt. Sir Ch. Wager. John Trelawny, Esq; Borough of Grampound. * The Rt. Hon. Tho. Coke, Efg. ditto.

Vice-Chamberlain.

Andr. Quick, Efa; † James Craigs, Ejq; Borough of Eastlow.

Sir Henry Seymore, Bar., Sir Ch. Hedges, Kt. Edward Jennings, E/q; + Thomas Smith, Esq;

Borough of Penryn. + Samuel Trefusis, Esq; Hugh Boscawen, E/4;

ditto. * Alexander Pendarves, E[q; Borough of Tregony.

Sir Edm. Prideaux. + George Robinson, Esq; James Craggs, E/q; * Edward Southwell, E/9;

Forough

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io )
                      Borough of Bossiney.
    Last Parl.
                                             New Paal.
* John Manley, E/q;
                               ditto.
* Henry Campion, Esq;
                               Sir William Pole.
                     Borough of St. Ives.
+ John Hopkins, Ela:
John Praed, Esq;
                               Sir William Pendarves, Bar.
                      Borough of Foway.
* Henry Vincent, Jun. E/4;
                               · ditto.
* Bernard Granville, E/q
                                Jeremy Wyche, Efq;
                     Bofough of S. Germain.
Edward Elliot, Esq;
                               ditto.
                                ditto.
+ John Knight, Esq;
                     Borough of St. Michael.
* Abraham Blackmore, E/a;
                                Sir Hen. Bellafis.
* Richard Bellasise, E/q;
                                John Statham, Esq;
                      Borough of Newport.
                               ditto.
Sir Nicholas Maurice, Bar.
                               Humphry Morrice, Esq;
George Courtenay, Esq;
                     Borough of S. Mani-
* John Anftis, Esq;
                               Edward Rok, Esq;
+ Sir Richard Onllow, Bar.
                               Francis Scobell, E[q;
                    Borough of Killington.
Samuel Rolle, Esq;
                                ditto.
                                Sir John Coryton.
+ Henry Mannaton, Esq;
               CUMBERLAND, 6.
                                ditto.
+ James Lowther, Esq;
                               ditto.
+ Gilfrid Lawfon, Efq;
                       City of Carlifle.
                                disso.
Brigadier Stanwix.
                                sir Chr. Mulgrave, Bar,
+ Sir James Montague, Kt.
                    Borough of Cockermouth,
+ Nicholas Lechmere, Esq.
                                ditto.
+ James Stanhope, Esq;
                                L Mulgrave, E/4;
                  DERBYSHIRE. 4.
Iohn Curzon, E/q;
                                ditto.
                                ditto.
Godfrey Clark, E/q;
                        Town of Derby.
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* Edward Munday, Esq: ditto.

* Nathaniel Curzon, Esq: ditto.

DEVONSHIRE. 26.

† Sir William Courtnay, ditto.

John Roll, Esq; Sir Cop. Warw. Bamfield, Bars

City of Exeter.

† Sir Cop. Warw. Bamfield, Bars. J. Rolle, Esq;

* John Snell, E/q; Fr. Drew, E/q;

Borough

Borough of Torness. New Parl. Laft Parl. Edw. Nortleidge E/4; Thomas Coulson, Efas dead. * Francis Gwyn, Efq; ditto. Borough of Plimouth. Sir John Rogers, Kt. Maj. Gen. Trelawny. Sir George Bing, Kr. Town of Oakbamptow. William Northmore, fun. Efq. John Dibble, Esq; Christopher Harris, Est; ditto. Borough of Barnstaple. * Sir Nicholas Hooper, Kt. one ditto... of ber Majely's Serj. at Law. Sir A. Chichefter. Richard Ackland, Esq; Borough of Plymton. * Richard Edgecombe, Efc. ditte. * George Treby, Esq; ditto. Borough of Honiton. Sir William Drake, Kt. & Bar. ditto. * James Shepherd, Eja; ditto. Borough of Tavistock. + Sir John Cope, Jun. Kt. ditto. * James Bulteel, Esq; ditto. Botough of Asbburton. + Richard Reynel, Efq; ditto. * Andrew Quick, E/q; · Tuckfeild, Eff. Borough of Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardnes. + Nathaniel Herne, Efq. Sir William Drake, Kt. & Bar. * Frederick Herne, E[q; dittõ. Borough of Beralstone. + Sir Peter King, Kt. Recorder of ditto. the City of London. + Lawrence Carter, Efq; ditto. Edrough of Tiverson. * Sir Edward Northey, Kt. ditto. + John Worth, Eft. ditto. DORSETSHIRE. 20. Thomas Strangeways, Est. ditto. Geo. Chaffin, E/4; * Edward Bingham, Efq; Town of Pool. Sir William Phippard, Kt. Geo. Trenchard, E/q; + Sir William Lewen, Ka. · ditto. Borough of Dorcbester. * Sir Nathaniel Napier, Kt. disto. Benjamin Gifford, Efq; dead. Hen. Trenchard, E/98 Borough of Lime-Regis-Henry Henly, Efq; ditto.

ditto.

† John Burridge, Esq.

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Borough

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                                                New Park
  Laft Parl.
+ The Hon. Maurice Ashley, Esq. Gen. Harvey.
+ Reginald Mariot, Efq;
                                Admiral Baker.
                  Borough of Melcomb-Regis.
*Sir Thomas Hardy, Kr.
                               Commodore Littleton.
* William Harvey, Efq;
                                William Betts, E/q;
                    Borough of Bridgort.
Thomas Strangeways, Jun. E/4: Hoskins Gifford, E/4:
+ William Coventry, Efq;
                                ditto.
              Borough of Shafton, alias Shaftsbury.
* Edward Nicholas, Efes
                                ditto.
Henry Whitaker, E/q;
                                ditto.
                     Borough of Wareham.
The Rt. Hon. Thomas Erle, Esq; ditto.
Sir Edward Ernley, Bar.
                                Geo. Pitt, F/q;
                   Borough of Corfe-Castle.
* Richard Fownes, Esq;
                                ditto.
John Banks, Esq;
                                ditto.
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                                J. Eden, Esq;
William Lambton, Efq;
                                      Hedworth, E/q;
                        City of Durbam.
* Thomas Convers, Esq;
                                ditto.
Robert Shafto, Esq;
                                Geo. Baker, Efa;
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                              S E X.
                       E
* Sir Richard Child, Bar.
                                ditto.
                               Sir Ch. Barrington, Bar.
+ Thomas Middleton, Esq;
                     Borough of Colchester.
Sir Isaac Rebow, Kt.
                              . ditto.
* William Gore, Efq;
                                Sir Th. Webster, Bar.
                      Borough of Malden.
* John Comyns, Esq; Serj. at Law ditte.
Thomas Bramfton, Efq;
                                ditto.
                     Borough of Harwich.
* Kendrick Edifbury, Efq;
                                Sir Tho. Daval, Ke.
                                S Carew Mildmay, Esq;
+ Thomas Frankland, Efq;
                                Tho. Heath, Esq; equal Votes.
                 GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
John Berkley, Ela:
                                ditto.
                               John Stevens, E/q;
+ Mathew Ducie Morton, Esq;
                       City of Gloucester.
Thomas Webb, Efq;
                                John Snell, Esq;
John Blanche, E/q;
                                Ch. Cox, E/q;
                    Borough of Cirencester.
Charles Cox, E/q;
                               Benj. Bathurft, Esq;
Thomas Mafter, E/q;
                                ditto-
                     Borough of Tewhelbury.
+ William Bromley, Esq;
                               Ch. Dowdelwell, E/4;
                                                       HERE
+ William Dowde well, Efq;
                              ditto.
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Laft Pari.
                   HEREFOR DSHIRE. $.
                                                  New Parl.
Rt. Hon. Ld. Visc. Scudamore.
* Sir Thomas Morgan, Bar.
                       City of Hereford.
* The Hon. James Brydges, Esq; ditto.
* Thomas Foley. Esq;
                     Borough of Leominster.
* Edward Harley, Efq;
                                ditto.
Edward Bangham, Esq;
                                Hen. Gorges, E/q;
                      Borough of Weebly.
+ John Birch, E/4;
                                ditto.
                                Udal Price, E/q;
Henry Cornwall, E/q;
                 HERTFORDSHIRE. 6.
+ Ralph Freeman, Jun. Esq;
Thomas Halley, Efq;
                                disto.
                    Borough of St. Albans.
                                William Hales, Efq;
* John Gape, E/q;
William Luckin Grimfton, Efa;
                                ditto.
                     Borough of Hertford.
* Charles Cefar, Efq;
                                ditto.
* Richard Gulfton, E/q;
                                di tto.
                   HUNTINGTONSHIRE. 4
                                Sir Mat. Dudley, Bar.
+ John Pocklington, Esq;
                                John Piggot, Esq;
* Sir John Cotton, Bar.
                    Borough of Huntington.
+ Edw. Wortley, al. Mountague ditto.
  E∫q;
                                The R. Hon. the L. Hinchinbrook.
+ Francis Page, Esq;
                         KENT. 10.
* Percival Hart, E/q;
                                ditto.
                               Sir Edm. Knatchbull, Bar.
Sir William Hardres, Bar.
                        City of Canterbury.
* John Hardres, E/q;
                                ditto.
                                ditto.
* Henry Lee, Esq;
                       City of Rocbester.
* Sir John Leake, Kt.
                                ditte.
* William Cage, Esq;
                                ditto.
                     Borough of Maidstone.
Sir Thomas Colepeper, Bar.
                               Sir Sam. Ongley, Km.
+ Sir Robert Masham, Bar.
                                ditto.
                   Borough of Queensborough.
Thomas King, E/4;
                                ditto.
                                      -Fothersby, Esq;
* James Herbert, Esq
                     LANCASHIRE. 14.
+ Hon. Charles Stanley, Efq;
                                1. Bland, E/4;
+ Richard Shuttleworth, Esq;
                                ditto.
                                                      Borough
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(14)
   Laft Parl.
                      Borough of Lancaster:
                                              New Pari.
+ Robert Heysham, Esq;
                                ditto.
† William Heyfham, Efq;
                                ditto.
              Borough of Presson in Amounderness.
* Henry Fleet wood, Efq;
                                dirto.
Sir Henry Houghton, Bar.
                                Edw. Southwell, Efq;
                      Borough of Newton.
* Thomas Leigh, E/q;
                                John Ward, Efg
+ 1. Ward of Capesthorn, Efq; Abr. Blackmore, Efq;
                      Borough of Wigan.
* Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bar.
* George Kenion, Efq;
                                ditte.
                      Borough of Clithero.
+ Edward Harvey, Efq;
                                ditto.
+ Thomas Lifter, Efq;
                                Coll. Stanly.
                     Borough of Leverpool.
+ Sir Thomas Johnson, Kr.
                                ditto.
+ John Cleveland, E/q;
                                William Clayton.
                  LÉICESTERSHIRE. 4.
Sir Jeffery Palmer, Bar.
                                L. Vis. Tamworth
Sir Roger Cave, Bar.
                                ditte.
                      Town of Leicester.
* Sir George Beauthofit, Bar.
+ lames Winstanley, Eft;
                                ditto.
                  LINCOLNSHIRE. 12.
Rt. Hon. Peregrine Ld. Wil- ditto.
  oughby of Eresby.
+ Lewis Dymocke, Efq.
                               Sir William Hickman Bar.
                       City of Lincolfie.
Richard Grantham, E/q;
                               John Sibthorp, E/q;
* Thomas Lifter, E/q;
                                ditto.
                      Borough of Bofton.
Richard Wynn, E/q;
                               ditto.
+ William Coatsworth, E/4;
                               H. Heron, Efg;
                  Borough of Great Grimsby.
* Arthur Moor, Efq;
Robert Vyner, Ejq;
                               William Coatsworth, Efq;
                    Borough of Stamford.
The Hon, Charles Gecil, E/q;
                               ditto.
+ Charles Bertie, Efq;
                               ditto.
                    Borough of Grantham.
+ Sir John Thorold, Bar.
                               ditto.
A Sir William Ellys, Bar.
                               Sir L. Browhlow, Bar.
                    MIDDLESEX. 8.
```

ditto.

ditto:

+ The Hon. James Bertie, Ffq;

Hugh Smithson, Esq;

City

New Park

Laft Parl.

```
Thomas Medlicot, Efq;
                                 ditto.
   Sir Thomas Croffe, Bar.
                                 disto.
                        City of London.
 * Sir William Withers, Kt.
 + Sir Richard Hoare, Kt.
                                   See the End of the
 + Sir George Newland, Kt.
                                     Lift.
 + Sir John Cass, Kt.
                    MONMOUTHSHIRE. 3.
 + John Morgan of Tredegar, Efq; disso.
 † Thomas Lewis, Efq;
                                 Sir Ch. Kemise Bar.
                      Borough of Monmoush.
 * Clayton Milborne, Efq;
                                 ditto,
                        NORFOLK. 12.
 * Sir John Woodhouse Bar.
                                 Sir Edm. Bacon, Bar.
 + Sir Jacob Aftley, Bar.
                                 ditto.
                        City of Norwich.
 Robert Bene, Efg.
 * Richard Berney, Eigi Town of Lyn-Regue.
 + Sir Charles Turner, Kt.
                                 ditto.
 + John Turner, E/q;
                                 Robt. Walpole Efg.
                     Town of Great Tarmouth.
 * Richard Ferrier, E/q;
                                 ditto.
 George England, E/q;
                                 ditta.
                       Borough of Theiford.
 Sir Edmund Bacon, Bar.
                                 Sir Wm, Barkor.
 Dudley North, Esq;
                                 ditto.
                     Borough of Caftlerising.
 + Hon. William Fielding, Efq;
                                 ditto.
 * Horatio Walpoole, Esq;
                                 ditto.
                 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. 9.
 Sir Juftinian Isham, Bar.
                                 ditto.
 Thomas Cartwright, E/q;
                                 ditto.
                       City of Peterborough.
 + Bon. John Fitz-Williams, Efq; ditte.
 Charles Parker, Esq;
                                 ditto.
                      Town of Northampton.
 John Wykes, Efa:
 + George Mountague, E/q;
                                 ditto.
                           Town of Brackles.
 + Hone William Egecton, Esq;
                                 ditto.
* John Burgh, Esq;
                                 Paul Methwen, Efq.
                    Borough of Higham Ferrars,
 + Hon. Tho. Wentworth, Ef4;
                                 ditto.
                  NORTHUMBERLAND. E.
 R. Hon. Algernon, E. of Heriford. ditto.
*. Thomas Forfter, E/q;
                                                           Town
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Town of Newcastle upon Tine.
Taft Parl.
                                               New Parl.
* Sir William Blacket, Bar.
* William Wrightson. E/4;
                               ditto.
                     Borough of Morpeth.
+ Sir Richard Sanford, Bar. .
                               Sir J. Germain Bar.
Rt. Hon. Ld. Vis. Caftle-Comer.
                              Oley Douglas, Efa:
                Town of Berwick upon Tweed.
+ Hon. William Ker, Efq;
                               ___Orde E[q;
                               ditto.
+ Richard Hambden, Ejq;
                NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. 8.
R. Hon. Ld. Vis. How, dead.
                               The Hon. Fr. Willoughby.
+ William Levinz. Efq;
                               ditto.
                     Town of Nottingbam.
                               Burlace Warren Esq;
+ John Plumtree, Ela:
Robert Sacheverel, E/q;
                               ditto.
                   Borough of East-Resford.
+ Brian Cooke, E/q:
                               J. Digby, E/q;
+ Francis Lewis, Ela:
                               ditte.
                  Town of Newark upon Trent.
* Richard Newdigate, Efq;
                                ditto.
Richard Sutton, Ela;
                                ditto.
                         OXON. 9.
Sir Robert Jenkinson, Bar.
                                ditto.
+ Francis Clerk, B/q;
                      University of Oxford.
* Sir William Whitelock, Kt.
Rs. Hou. William Bromley, E/q; ditto.
     Speaker.
                        City of Oxon.
* Sir John Walter, Bar.
                                ditto.
* Thomas Rowney, Efa;
                                ditto.
                  Borough of New Woodstook.
+ Sir Thomas Wheate, Bar.
                                ditto.
William Cadogan, Ejq;
                                disto.
                      Borough of Banbury.
* Hen. Charles North, Esq;
                                Jonat. Cope, E/q,
                   RUTLANDSHIRE. 2.
+ Rt. Hon. Daniel Ld. Finch.
                                ditto.
                                The Rt. Hon. the Ld. Sherrard.
* Richard Halford, Esq;
                           SALOP. 12.
John Kynafton, Efq;
                                ditto.
                              .The Rt. Hon. the Ld. Newport.
+ Robert Lloyd, E/q;
                       Town of Salop.
* Edward Creffet, Efq;
                                ditto.
Richard Mytton, E/q;
                                Tho: Jones, Esq;
            Borough of Bruges alias Bridgenorth.
* Richard Creswel, Fun. Esq;
                               Wm. Whitmore, Esq;
                                                           Bo-
Whitmore Acton, E/4;
                               ]. Weaver, E/q;
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Borough of Ludlew-
                                                   New Parl.
 Laft Parl.
                                 Hump, Walcot, E/4;
                                 ditto.
* Acton Baldwin, Efq;
                   Borough of Great Wenlocke.
                                Wm. Whitmore, E/4;
Thomas Weld, Efa;
Sir William Forretter, Kt.
                     Town of Bilbops-Ciftle.
                                 ditto.
* Sir Robert Raymond, Kt.
Richard Harnage, E/q,
                                 ditto.
                   SOMERSETSHIRE. 18.
* Sir William Wyndham, Bar. ditto.
                                Col. Horner. ..
Sir Thomas Wroth, Bar.
                        City of Briftol.
                                       - Edwards, E/q;
Edward Colfton, Esq;
                                ditto.
+ Joseph Earl, Esq;
                        City of Bath.
                                ditto.
Samuel Trotman, Esq:
                                ditto:
John Codrington, Eig;
                         City of Wells.
Maurice Berkley, Ela:
                                Sir Tho. Wroth, Bar.
* Edward Colfton, Jun. Esq;
                      Borough of Taunton.
                                ditto.
Sir Francis Warre, Bar.
                                ditto.
* Henry Portman, Efq;
                   Borough of Bridgewater.
* Nathaniel Palmer, Esq.
                                ditto.
+ George Dodington, Ef4;
                                I. Rowle, Efa:
                      Borough of Minebead.
* Sir John Travelyan, Bar.
                                ditto.
                                ditto.
* Sir Jacob Banks, K:
                    Borough of Ucbester.
* Sir James Bateman, Kt.
                                ditto.
* Edward Philips, E/q;
                                ditto.
                   Borough of Milburne-Ports
+ Sir Thomas Travel, Kr.
                                ditto.
+ James Medlicot, E/q;
                                ditte.
                  SOUTHAMPTON. 26.
+ George Pitt, E/q;
                               Tho. Lewis, Esq.
                                Sir Ant. Sturt.
Sir Simon Stuart, Bar.
                      City of Winchester.
Gro. Rodney Bridges, Esq; dead. disto.
Thomas Lewis, Ejq;
                                ditto.
                     Town of Southampton.
* Richard Fleming, E/4;
                                ditto.
* Roger Harris, Esq;
                                ditto.
                     Town of Portsmouth.
* Sir James Wishart, K.s.
                                ditto.
* Sir William Giffard, Kt.
                                Sir Thomas Mackworth.
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Borough of Tarmousb.

disto. ditto.

Henry Holmes, Esq;

Sir Gilbert Dolben, Bar.

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Borough

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Botough of Petersfield.
                                                    New Parl.
Last Parl.
Teonard Billon, Efg;
+ Norton Pawlet, Efg:
                                ditto.
              Borough of Newport, alias Medena.
* Hon. William Seymore, E/4; John Webb, E/4;
                                žitto.
* William Stephens, Efgs
                    Borough of Stackbridge.
+ Rt. Hon. James, Earl of Barry. Rich. Steel, Efe;
   more of the K. of Ireland.
                                Thomas Brodeick, E/a
+ George Dashwood, Esq.
                      Borough of Newson.
                                 ditto.
* Tames Worsley, Esq;
                                 ditte.
* Henry Worfley, Efq;
                    Borough of Christ-Church.
                                 ditto.
* William Ettericke, Esq.
                                 ditto.
* Sir Peter Mews, Kt.
                      Borough of Lymington.
+ Rt. Hon. Ld. Wm. Pawlet.
                                 Sir Jos. Jekyl, K:
Paul Burrard, Esq;
                      Borough of Whitchurch.
* Frederick Tilney, Elq;
                                 ditte.
* Thomas Vernon, Esq;
                      Borough of Andover.
 + William Guidot, Efq.
                                 ditto.
                                 Sir A. Crowley, Kt. deceasid.
 + John Smith, Esq;
                     STAFFORDSHIRE. 10.
                                 Hen. Vernon, E/q;
 * William Ward, Jun. Ef4;
                                 Ralph Sneyd, Eff.
 * Charles Bagot, Jun. Bjy;
                        City of Littbfield.
                                  ditto.
 Richard Dvot, E/9;
                                 disto.
 John Cotes, E/4;
                      Borough of Stafford.
 Henry Vernon, Jun. Bfq;
                                  disto.
                                  ditto.
 + Walter Chetwynd, Efq;
               Borough of Newcastle under Line.
                                  ditto.
 Rowland Cotton, E/a;
                                  disto.
  * William Burflem, Ef
                        Borough of Tammerth.
                                  ditto.
  * Joseph Girdler, Effi
  * Samuel Bracebridge, E/4;
                                  ditto.
                        SUFFOLK. 16.
  * Sir Thomas Hanmer; Bar.
                                  ditto.
                                  ditto.
  * Sir Robert Davers, Bar.
                         Borough of Ip/wich.
                                  ____ Thompson, Esq;
  Sir William Barker, Bar.
                                   ditto.
  William Churchill, Efq;
                         Borough of Dunwich.
                                  dimo.
 Sir George Downing, Bar.
                                   Sir Robt. Kemp.
  Richard Richardson, Efq;
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Borough

New Park Last Parl. Borough of Orford. * Sir Edward Turner, Kt. * Clement Corrante, E/q; ditto. Borough of Alborough. * Sir Henry Johnson, Bar. + William Johnson, Esq; ditto. Borough of Sudbury. * John Mead, Esq; Sir Harvey Elwes, Bar. * Hon. Robert Ecklyn, Efq; ditto. Borough of Eye. Sir Joseph Jekyl, Kt. Edward Hopkins. + Thomas Maynard, Esq; ditto. Borough of St. Edmonds bury. + Aubrie Porter, Esq; ditto. Samuel Batteley, E / q; - Harvey, E/q; SURREY. 14. Sir Francis Vincent, Bar. Sir. R. Onslow, Bar. + Hon. Hencage Finch, Eff. ditto. Borough of Southwark. + Sir Charles Cox. Kr. Fisher Tench, Esq; Sir George Matthews, Kf. John Lade, E/4; Borough of Blechingley. + George Evelyn, Ejq; disso-+ Thomas Onllow, E/q; ditto. Borough of Rygate. + Sir John Parsons, Kr. ditto. * John Ward, Efq; Cox, E/4; Borough of Guilford. + Denzil Onflow, Ela: Sir Rich. Onlow. Bar. + Morgan Randyl, Ela; Borough of Garrow. +William Newland, Esq; + Paul Docminique, Esq; ditto. Borough of Hustemere. + Sir John Clerk, Kt. Tho. Onflow, Efq. * Theophilus Oglethorp, Efe Geo. Vernon, E/q; Gussex. * Charles Eversfield, Esq; Hen. Campion, E/q; Sir George Parker, Bar. Jo. Fuller, E/q; City of Chichester. + Sir Richard Farington, Ber. William Elfon, Efq; Sir Thomas Miller, Bur. James Brudenell, Efq; Borough of Horfbam. John Wicker, Esq; Ch. Eversfield, Efa: * John Middleton, Efg ditto. Becough of Midburt. William Knight, Efg. Lawrence Alcoke, E/q; John Prat, E/q; ditto. Borough of Lewes. + Thomas Pelliam, Efq; ditto. Peter Gott, Esq; dead. - Bo-- Trevor, E/q;

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Borough of New-Shorebam
                                                      . New Parl.
Taft Parl.
                                 Fr. Chamberlaine, Esq.
+ Gregory Page, Esq;
+ Nathaniel Gould, E/q;
                                  ditto.
                      Borough of Bramber.
Hon. Andrews Windsor, Esq;
                                  Rt. Hon. the Ld. Hawley.
* William Shippen, Esq;
                      Borough of Sterning.
* Henry Goring, E/q;
                                  William Wallis, Efq;
* Robert Leves, Elq;
                     Borough of East Grinstead.
                                  ditto.
 * John Convers, E/q;
                                  Spencer Compton, Esq;
 * Leonard Gale, Efg;
                        Borough of Arundel.
 + Rt. Hon. Rich. Ld. Lumley.
                                   ditto.
 * Rt. Hon. the Earl of Thomond. disto.
   of the K. of Ireland.
                      WARWICKSHIRE. 6.
* Sir John Mordaunt, Bar.
                                   ditto.
                                   A_Archer, E/q;
 * Sir William Boughton, Bar.
                         City of Coventry
                                   Sir Fulworth Skipwith.
 Sir Thomas Gerv. Kt.
                                   ditto.
 * Sir Christopher Hales, Bar.
                        Borough of Warwick.
 # H. Doddington Grevile Efq.
                                   ditto.
 # H. Charles Leigh, Efq. WESTMORLAND. 4.
                                   William Colemore Efg;

    Hon. James Grahme, Efq.

  * Daniel Wilson Esq.
                                   ditto.
                          Borough of Apulby.
                                   Sir R. Sandford.
  * Edward Duncomb Elq;
                                   ditto.
  *Thomas Lurwitch Elq.
                          WILTSHIRE.
  * Sir Richard How, Ber.
                                   ditto.
  Robert Hyde Esq,
                                   ditto.
                         City of New-Sarum.
  Charles Fox, Efq; dead.
                                   ditto
                                  Robert Jones, E/q;
  * Robert Pitt Elq
                          Borough of Wilton.
   Charles Mompession, Esq.
                                   I. London, Efq;
                                   Thomas Pitt, Jun. E/q;
  A Peter Bathurst Esq.
                         Borough of Downeton.
  # John Evre Elq.
                                   ditto.
                                         Saver, E∫q;
  Tho. Duncomb, sliss Browne, Efq;
                          Borough of Hindon.
                      Efq.
                                   Robert Lockwood, Esq;
  * Edmund Lambert,
  * Henry Lee, alias Warner, Efq;
                                    Reg. Calthrop, E/q;
                         Borough of Heytesbury.
  * Edward Ashe Eso.
                                    ditto.
  #William Afhe Jun, Efg.
                                        ·Court E/q;
                         Borough of Westbury.
   Henry Bertie Efq.
                                    ditto.
                                    ditte.
   Francis Annelley Efq.
                            Borough of Calue.
                                    William Northey, E/q.
   James Johnston Eig;
   William Hedges Efq;
                                    ditto.
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Bo-

Borough of Devizes. New Parl. Last Parl. Robert Child, Elg: Sir Francis Child. Kt. Dead. * Thomas Webb Serg. at Law. John Nicholas Efg. Borough of Chipingham. I. Eyles E/g Sir lames Long Bar. . Norris, *Ela*: Francis Popham Efq; Borough of Malmsbury. · loseph Addison Esq. * Šir John Rushout, Bar. ditto. Borough of Cricklade. Sir Thomas Read. * Edmond Dunch, Efq. William Gore, E/g; # 6amuel Robinson, Esc Borough of Great-Bedwin. ditto Sir Edward Seymour. Bar. ditto. * Thomas Millington, Efq; Borough of Ludgershall. ditto. Iohn Webb, Efg. Robert Ferne, E/g; * Thomas Pearce, Elq. Borough of Old-Sarum. ditto. Thomas Pitt, Elq; Robert Pitt, E/9; William Harvey, Jun. Efq. Borough of Weetten-baffet. Richard Creswel Esq; Richard Goddard, Efq; ditto. Edmund Pleydel, Efq; Borough of Marlbrough. H. Robert Bruce, Efq. ditto. Gabr. Roberts Esq: Richard Jones, Efq. WORCESTERSHIRE. 9. * Sir John Packington, Bar. ditto. lohn Piets El * Samuel Pytt, Efq. City of Worcester ditto. Samuel Swift, Efq. ditto. * Thomas Wild, Efg. Borough of Droitwich. ditto. * Edward Jefferies, Efq. ditto. Edward Foley, Efq. Borough of Everfham. ditto. * Sir Edward Goodere, Bar. ditto. * John Rudge, Efq. Borough of Bendly. * Salwey Winnington, Elq; autto.
YORKSHIRE. 30. * Rt. II. Ld. Vilc. Down. ditto. * Sir Arthur Kay, Bar. ditto. City of York. Sir William Robinson, Bar. ditto. * Rt. H. Robert Benson, Esq. Capt. Fairtax. Town of Kingfton upon Hall. A Sir William St. Quintin, Bar. ditto. * William Master, Esq. Borough of Knaresborough. Robert Byerley, Efq. ditto. ditto, deceas'd Christopher Scockdale, Esq. Borough of Scarberough. * William Thompson, Efg; ditto. John Hungerford, Efq. ditto. Boreugh of Rippen. * Rt. H. John Aislabie, Esg; ditto. John Sharp, Efq. ditto.

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Bo-

(22)

New Parl.

Laft Parl. Borough of Richmond.

† John Yorke, Efq. direction. Henry Mordans, Efq. direction.

Borough of Hyden.

* William Pulteny, Jun. Efq. direc. * Hugh Cholmely, Efq. direc.

Borough of Boroughbrigg. Sir Beyan Stapplton, Bar. dieto.

* Craven Peyton, Efq. Edmund Dunch, Efq.

Berough of Malton.

William Palmes, Efq.

William Strickland, Efq. ditto.

* James Worsley, Esq. Thomas Frankland, Esq. direction.

Borough of Alborough.

* Robert Monckton, Efq. Horn lo. Dawney, Efg;

* William Jessop, Esq. Paul Foley, Esq;

Sir Charles Hotham, Bar, ditto.

* Sir Michael Warton, Kt. ditto.

Roger Gale, Efg. Borough of Northallesten. Hen. Pearle, .E/q;

Robert Raikes, Eq. Leo. Smelt, Efe,

Sir John Bland, Bar.

Borough of Pentefract.

J Dawney, E/q;

* Robert Frank, Esq. ditto.

Barons of the Cinque-Ports. 16.

Port of Haffings.

* Sir William Ashburnham, Ks. Archibald Hutchiason, Eles

Sir Joseph Martyn, Kr. ditto.
Post of Dever.

Marthew Aylmer, Efg.

* Philip Papillon, Efg.

ditto.

Josiah Burchet, Esq.

* John Mitchel, Esq.

Port of Sandwich.

Sir Henry Oxenden, Er.

ditro.

John Boteler, Esq.

L. V. Shannon of the K. of Ireland --- Desboverie, Esq.

Port of Now Rumney.

Sir Robert Furnele, Bar.

ditto.

* Hon. Edward Watfon, Efc. ditro.

Town of Rye.

Sir John Norris, Kr. ditto.

Philip Gibbon, E/q, ditto.
Town of Winchelfes.

* Sir Francis Dashwood, Bar. George Doddington, E/g.

* Robert Bristow, E/g.

* William Lowndes, Esq. Town of Seeferd.

Thomas Chowne, E/q; George Naylor, E/q; WA

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Old Parl.

WALES, (24.)

Re H. Ld. Bulkley, Vif.

Caffel

Sir H. Mackworth, Kt.

Town of Cardigan. Carmarthen 2.

Town of Carmarthen. Carnarvan 2. Town of Carnarwan.

Brecon 2.

Town of Brecon. Cardigan 2.

Denbigh 2. Town of Denvigh.

Angle sey 2.

Flitt 2. Town of Flint:

Glamorgen 2. Town of Cardiffe.

Merioneth 1. Montgomery 2.

Town of Montgemery. Pembroke 3. Town of Prmbroke.

Town of Haverford West John Laugherne, Esq. Radnor 2

Town of New-Radner.

Borough of Besumaris * Hon. Henry Bertie Efq. Sir Edward Williams, Kt. * Edward Jeffreys, Elq. R. Jones, Ela

Owen Brigitock Fig. * Ser Tho Powel, Bar. ditto.

Richard Vaughan, Elq. ditto. Sir J. Wynne, Kt. & Bar. Wm. Griffith, Elen

William Griffith Efg. Sir Rich Middleton, Bar. ditto. John Roberts Esq.

Sir Roger Moltyn, Bar. Sir J. Conway, Bar. Sir John Conway, Bar. Sir Roger Moltyn, Bar.

Robert Jones, Esq. Sir Ed. Stradling, Bar-Richard Vaughan, Eiq. Edward Vaughan, Eiq.

John Pugh, Elq. ohn Barlow, Efq. ewis Wogan, Elq

Thomas Harley, Eiq; Rt. H. Ed. L. Harley,

New Parl.

ditto

Tho. Jones E/q; Sir Goe. Barlow.

Tho. Wynn, Efg.

1. Wynn of Maylay, Efgs

S ditto.

SCOTLAND, (45.)

Shire of Aberdeen. Shire of Aire. Burghs of Aire, &c. Shire of Argyle. Shire of Baneff.

*Sr Al.Cumming, ju.Bar. *John Monrgomery, E/q dirto. harles Oliphant, M.D. Sir fames Campbell, Bar * Alexand. Abercrombie, ditto.

Burghs of Elgin, &c Shire of Berwick. Shires of Cathness.

Alexander Reid, E/9 *George Baillie, Efq. Sir James Dunbar. Burghs of Tayne, &c. 4 Robt Monro, Efq. Shire of Cromarty. Sir Kenneth Macken Sir Kenneth Mackenzie. Shire of Dumbarton. Hem: John Campbell, of Mamofe, Esq.

Burghs of Glasgow, &c. + Thomas Smith, Eq. Shire of Dumfreis.

Hon. James Murray, Elq Sir Wm. Johnson. Geo. Lockhart of Carn. ditto. Shire of Edinburgh.

wath, Efq. Sir Patrick Johnston. Sir James Stewart. City of Edinburgh. Shire of Rigin. Sir Alex. Areskine, Bar. Lord Lyon. Shire of Fife. Burghs of Innerkething, Henry Cunningham, ditto.

jun. Esq. Stirling, &c. Burghs of Pittenmeen, An- Geo. Hamilton, Eiq. 2 Sr J. Anstructurer disput. fruiber, &c. (Le. G. Hamilton Eica.) ftruther, &c.

Burghs of Kirkealdie, &c. James Ofwald, Efq. * John Carnegie. Efq. Shire of Perfar Burghs of Perch, Den & George Youman, Elq. dee, &c.

lames Murray, Elq.

dirro.

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Burghs

Old Parl New Park Burghs of Aberdeen Montrols. &c. John Middleton, Efq. * William Levingston, Esq; Shire of Haddington. +1. Cockburnof Ormiftown, Efq; dieto. Shire of Invernels. Al. Makenzie of Fraserdale, Esq; disso. Shire of Kincardin. Sir Alex. Ramfay, of Balmain. Coll. James Scott. Shire of Kinross. Sir John Malcom, Bar. Stewarty of Kirkenbright. +1. Stewart of Stewartseild, Esq; --- Gryer, Esq, Burghs of Dumfreize Kirkenbright, &c. Sir William Johnson John Hutton, M.D. Burghs of Wigtown Wythem, &c. W. Cockran of Kilmaronock Efg; Sir Alex. Maxwell. Shire of Lanerk. *Sr. la. Hamilton of Roschall Bar. ditto. Shire of Linlishgow. Houston, Jun. Sir James Carmichael. Shire of Nairn and Burghs of Nairn, Invernest, &c. *Iohn Houston, Jun. I. Forbes of Colloden, Efq; George Makenzie, E/q; Shire of Orkney and Ackland. Sir Alex. Douglass, Bar. ditto. Shire of Pebles. J. Morrison, of Preston-grange Esq + Alex. Murray, Elq; Shire of Perth. * Rt. Hon. L. James Murray. Re. H. L. James Murray, Sen. Rt. H. L. James Murray, Jun. double return. Shire of Renfrew. + Sir Robt. Pollock, Bar. ditto. Shire of Ross. * Lt. Gen. Charles Ross. ditto. Shire of Rexburgh. + Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bar. Burghs of Fedburgh, Hadington, Dunbar, &c. + Sir David Dalrymple, Bar. ditto. Shire of Selkirk. * John Pringle, E/q; ditto. Burghs of Linlithgow, Selkirk, &c. Coll. Geo. Douglas. Sir Tames Carmichael. Shire of Stirling. * Sir Hugh Paterson, Bar. ditto. Shire of Susberland. Sir William Gordon, Bar. ditto. Burgh of Wigtown. John Stewart, E/q; Sir Alexander Maxwel. NB. The old Members for the City of London, are re-chosen. FINIS.

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STATE

GREAT BRITAIN,

With the

Most Material Occurrences in Europe. For the Month of October, 1713.

Containing in Particular,

I. An exact and faithful Abstract of a Book intitled, The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England afferted, &c.

II. An Abstract of the Ld. up. of Sarum's Introduction to his Third Vol. of the Hift. of the Reform.

III. An Ordinance of the French King, with a Letter thereupon afferting the Rights of Her Majesty's Natural-born Subjects.

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THE

POLITICAL STATE

FOR

The Month of October, 1713.

London, Oct. 31. 1713.

Sir,



INCE my last, a Book has been publish'd the Subject of which, as it is of greater importance, than either Trade or Dunkirk, so has it made much more Noise than

all has been written on those two Topicks.

It is printed in Folio, and bears the Title of,

The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England Account of
afferted; the History of the Succession since the Book call'd
the Conquest clear'd and the True English The HerediConstitution Vindicated from the Misrepresentary Right of
tations of Dr. Higden's View and Defence England as
Wherein serted &c.

Vol. VI. Wherein some Mistakes also of our Common Historians are rectify'd; and several Partiticulars relating to the Succession, and to the Title of the House of Suffolk, are now first publish'd from ancient Records and Original Manuscripts; together with an Authentick Copy of King Henry VIIIth's Will; By a Gentleman. Printed by G. James for Richard Smith, 1713 Containing, Introduction and Body of the Book, Pages 274 the Appendix, 63. To pursue the Method of this Monthly Collection, which is impartially to epitomize, and preserve for future Historians, what relates to the Political State of Great-Britain, I shall in the first Place give you an Abstract of the Introduction, and the Heads of the Contents of the Body of this Book; and shall afterwards acquaint you with what is hitherto come to publick Knowledge, concerning the Author and Publisher of it.

Abstrate of

" First, The Author pretends, That the first Time that the Duty of paying Althe Introdu- legiance to Powers in Possession began to

be taught in this Kingdom, was during the Usurpations, which succeeded the

Death of King Charles 1. That in all for-

mer Revolutions, the Princes who got

Possession of the Crown, claim'd it by

6 some Right, and never infifted on Pos-

fession, as Right: But the Rump Parliament, and Cromwell, and the following

' Usurpers, having no tolerable Pretence to any Claim of Right, their Friends

were reduced to a Necessity of pleading

Possession, as a Right to Obedience; and ' several

feveral Books were then publish'd by Papists, Fa-"naticks, and Deists, to enforce and prove it. But that this Principle was then generally rejected, by all the Members of the Church of England; and by e many Presbyterians, who maintain'd, that Allegiance was due to the rightful King, who was not in Possession; That after the Restoration, the Acts, and Judicial Proceedings of the Governments preceding, were all null and void, except such as were authorized by a new Law; And it was declared by an Act of Parliament, That all the said Powers before in Possession, were rebellious, wicked, traiterous, abominable Usurpations, detested by this present Parliment. And the Reason follows immediately, As opposite in the highest Degree to His Sacred Majesty's most just and undoubted Right, to whom and His Heirs and lawful Successors, the Imperial Crown of these Realms with their Dominions and Territories, do of Right appertain; and as violating the just Rights and Privileges of Parliament. That here the Constitution, was again resettled on its ancient Foundation; not on Possession, which all the Usurpers had; but upon the undoubted Right of the Lawful Heir, who had been out of Possession, and of his Heirs and lawful Successors; And that agreeably to this Constitution in that Reign it was the constant Doctrine of Lawyers and Divines, that Allegiance was not due to all Powers ' in Possession. That the Revolution that happen'd after, was begun, carry'd on, ended, and justified on these Grounds, That Allegiance was not due to all 'Kings in Poffession: That King James was lawfully deprived; That King William and Queen Mary were lawfully put into Possession. But these Politions did not fuit with the Principles of many Lawyers and Divines who had constantly maintain'd, that the Deposition of a lawful King was abso-· lutely unlawful by the Law of GOD, and the Laws of this Kingdom: Therefore, to justify the Transla-

Opinion directly in his Eye; that he observ'd what was fit for his Purpose: and what was not, he overlook'd, or saw it through a bad Perspective.
That thus having collected all the Materials he could find in Law and History, savourable to Pos-

fession, he rounded, and smooth'd, and shap'd them,
by

by his own Glosses, to his own Opinion, which he presented to the World in Print, and call'd it A · View of the English Constitution. But that it appears onot, that the Doctor, with all his Diligence, hath found out any material Proof of his Constitution, which his Predecessors in this Controversy had omitted. That he hath himself given us a Summary of his Proofs, which had been all urg'd and anfwer'd before, by the Writers on this Subject, after the Revolution; and most of them had been pleaded by the Writers for Possession before the Restoration. That the Doctor indeed endeavours to distinguish himself from the Advocates of those " Usurpers, and particularly Crommell, who had been often objected by his Adversaries: And once for all he dispatches Oliver by three killing Reasons; which the Author thinks fit to examine, The first, That · Oliver had not the Legislative Authority of the Kingdom, nor was ever acknowledg'd by our Kings to have had it; and therefore could not have the sowerign · Authority of the Kingdoms. To which it is answer'd, That He actually exercis'd all fovereign Power, Legislative, and Executive. By the Instrument of Government, The supreme Legislative Authority of the Kingdom was in his single Person, and the People in Parliament; but the Administration of it was left to the Lord Protector, and his Council, nominated by him. By his own Authority he made Scotland one Common wealth with England; and he passed five Bills in his second Parliament: But his Legislative Power was never acknowledg'd by our Kings. His pretended Acts, on the contrary, were null after the Restoration. For what Reason? The Law hath • plainly declar'd it; because the Power that made those Acts was Usurpation, opposite to the undoubted 6 Right of the King and his lawful Heirs, and the ' just Rights of Parliament. The Law is declarative

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of the true English Constitution, that to the Authority of Law is requir'd a lawful King, and a lawful Parliament; and the Want of the first is the chief Cause of the Nullity, because without the first the second cannot have Exiftence. That the second Reason of Dr. Hieden, is, • That Oliver, who had not the Regal Title and Office, could not have the Legislative Authority in this Monarchy, in which, by our Constitution, a Law cannot be made without a King or Queen; and therefore all the Acts of Oliver sunk of themselves, as Nullities ab Origine. To which the Author answers, That as to the Name King, Oliver, when his Parliament offer'd it, denied to take it; but he took and executed the Office. That the Name of King or Mo-• narch denotes Sovereignty vested in a single Person, which Oliver really had, and was therefore really that, which those Words signify; for he actually exercis'd Sovereignty in a higher Degree, than did ever any of our Monarchs fince the Conqueror. But, adds the Author, is Allegiance due to a Sound, 4 or Syllable? Is there any Law, that nulls the Acts of Kings, if they change their Style? If the King of England, whose Crown is Imperial, should assume the Style of Emperor, would all his Laws be null; Would he thereby forfeit his Crown Imperial? So he would if he lost his Authority. Majesty was once 4 as unknown to our Constitution, as Protector. The 4 Kings of England were styled Lords of Ireland; yet as Lords, their Acts were valid; and when Henry VIII. took the Title of King, unknown to the Conflitution of Ireland, were his Laws afterward Null · ab Origine? If Cromwell had taken the Style of King, as he actually exercis'd the Office, his Autho-' rity and Right would have been still the same. The Usurping of a Word would not have made Legal f all his other Usurpations; and it is morally certain,

tain, that if he had taken the Style of King, the Nation would not have acknowledg'd his Right to make Laws; and that after the Restoration, they would have sunk of themselves, as the Laws of an Usurper. As to Dr. Higden's third Reason, That those only have been acknowledg'd for Kings for the Time being, who have been plac'd in the Throne by the States of the Realm, and recogniz'd by Parliament; whereas Oliver had not the Consent of the Three Estates; Two of the Three Estates, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, had been long before laid aside; and it was no better than a Mock-Representation of the Third Estate, that made him Protector: It is answer'd, First, as before, That Oliver's Laws were Null, not because he was not advanc'd and recogniz'd by the States, but chiefly, because his Usurpation was opposite to the undoubted Right of the Lawful Heir. That the Doctor's three Reasons are but one in Reality, and one Reply is sufficient to confute them. 2 adly. There is no Law which declares, that Kings for the time being must be necessarily plac'd in the Throne, and recogniz'd by Parliament. The Eleventh of Henry VII. makes no Mention of that Necessity: but supposes only in general, that Allegiance is due to the King for the Time being: The Words themselves imply only his Existence, not the Moral 4 Causes, or Effects of it. And the Doctor hath cited no Authority of Law, nor produced any Reafon to justify or support his Assertion: That on the contrary 'tis notorious, that the Kings of England have Regal Authority before a Parliament is called: And therefore their Authority is not the Product or Effect of Parliament. That Thirdly, Most of the Doctor's Kings in Fact, were Kings in being for some time, before the Recognition of the Three Estates: That it cannot be prov'd, That the Three Estates did constitute a Parliament, before the Middle

tain, that the States have a Lawful Power to place a King on the Throne; but not to depose a Lawful King; he will maintain a manifest Contradiction: For if the Deposition of a Lawful King, for want of Moral Power, is Unlawful and Null; he remains, as he was, a Lawful King, endu'd with Lawful Authority; but he hath no Authority, and is not Lawful, if another King is Lawfully plac'd on the Throne by the States, and invested with Lawful Authority. That to create one King, is to destroy the other: Therefore they who have not a Power of Destroying, have none of Creating; and if they will create, the Being they produce is Morally Nothing. That in the Doctor's Opinion, 6 Charles II. when dispossess'd, was Actually and Lawfully King, because there was no King in Possession against him. Does he think King Charles would have quitted, the Regal Title, if Oliver had assum'd it? Be it so; but suppose the States conven'd had recogniz'd Oliver, as King; in that Instant, in the Doctor's Opinion, he would have had Regal Authority, and King Charles would have been deprived of it. But how could he have lost ' it in an Instant? By the States Authority of depo-· sing him, and advancing and recognizing Oliver. Refistance, Deposition, Promotion, Recognition, begin, advance, and finish Revolutions. Consent of the States and People legitimate All, or Nothing. 4 The proper Way therefore of resolving Difficul-4 ties, is to begin with the first Acts; to examine whether Resistance and Deposition are lawful; then to consider whether Subjects (such are the Three Eflates) have a Moral Power, by their own Consent, to discharge themselves from their Allegiance to one King, and to give Regal Authority to another: If their Confent absolves them, they have a lawful Power of Deposing; if not, their Consent is une lawful, and void; and hath no Moral Operation; · That K k

That Fifthly, Since the Law (13 Car. 2. c. 1.) hath declared, That neither both, nor either of the Houses of. Parliament, have a Legislative Power, without the King; it is hard to understand, how the Three Estates can give a Legislative Authority, which they have not, to a King, who hath it not; and that their Consent, which is no Law, can make a Law-giver, and become a Law to all the Subjects, by laying the Obligation of Allegiance on them: That Sixthly, Whereas Sovereignty is deny'd to Oliver, because he had not the Consent of the Three Estates of the Realm; this may raise another Difficulty: For if. one of the Estates is excluded, (as in a Neighbouring Kingdom) then it seems, in the Doctor's Opinion, that a King so made hath in that Kingdom no Right to Sovereignty, and is not truly a King for the time being: The Constitution, as to the Three Estates, in both Kingdoms, was the same; and it is hard to find a Reason, why if one Estate is lawfully excluded, so may not another; the Temporal, as the Spiritual Peers, for both have the same Right by the Constitution; and if Two of the Three may be excluded, so a Part of the Third, and fo another Part, till the Three Estates are brought to a Rump, which may be also lessen'd, and at length wholly excluded; and so this Tail of a Distinction, by plucking out all the Hairs, will be reduced to onothing. That, Seventhly, Tho' Oliver had not the ' Consent of the Three Estate's Lawfully assembled, 4 yet all the Estates, and the whole Body of the Kingdom liv'd quietly under him, paid him Taxes; receiv'd Justice and Protection from him; The Ma-- ority of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesles, e-· lected by the People in his two Parliaments, fign'd a Recognition of him: His Establishment was so onotorious, that all the Princes and States of Europe acknowledg'd him by Ambassadors. What follows? If the main diffusive Body of the People of England '.own'd

own'd him; this is surely equivalent to any Recognition of the Body Representative, or of the Three Estates, and the Whole being greater than a Part, the Authority of the Whole is greater in Proportion: But it cannot be deny'd, that it conferrs at least as much Authority, according to the Law of Nature, and the Practice of Nations; and the Law of England, as is faid, hath no where declar'd, That the Consent of Parliament can make Kings for the Time being, or that in King-Making the Representers have more Authority, than the Body reprefented. That, Eightbly, The Doctor himself, who excludes Oliver, because he had not the Consent of the Three Estates hath employ'd two Chapters in his View, and as many in his Defence, to prove, that Subjection is due to Sovereign Power in Possesfun, by our Saviours Decision about Tribute, and by the great End and Design of Government. Subjects therefore, were dischar'd from their Allegiance to the King who could not, and were bound to pay Tribute to the Protector, who could, and did protect them. And if this is agreeable to the great End and Design of Government, it is agreeable to the Law of Nature. Suppose then, that Allegiance was not due to Gromwell by the Law of En-' gland; it was due by the Will of GOD, Natural and Reveal'd; by the Command of CHRIST, and the Laws of Nature; Laws superior to the Law of England. If the Eternal Word hath spoken and decided, what Need of confulting the Oracles of Erglish Law? If the Law Eternal of all Government requires Allegiance to Possessors, what need of the Three Estates to Authorize it? Possession alone fuffices; and according to the Doctor, Allegiance was due to Crompell, for this one Reason; namely, that ha was in Possession of the Government. That thus it appears, that the Doctor, against his own Reasons, K k 2 gives

gives Comwell a Right to Subjection; His Usurpation is still in full Force against the Doctor's System, and evidently refutes it; And it must be confessed, that the Royalists, who adher'd to the King against Oliver were Rebels against the Ordinance of GOD, were Transgressors of the Law of Nature, and the Command of CHRIST; and that there never was, nor can be any Usurpation; for that implies Possession, which according to the Doctor, is a Divine Right to Government.

But that the true State of the Controversy between the Doctor and his Adversaries, is, whether the Kingdom of England be, of Right, Here-! dirary? Or, whether it belongs, of Right to every one, who gets Possession? Whether the Kingdom appertains to Lawful Heirs, or Actual Possessors? That the Distinction between Possessors by Force, and by Confent, hath no Ground in Fact and History; for all Possessions, not Hereditary, have been al-, ways fet up by Force; Consent of States and People hath followed; and it is morally impossible, it should be otherwise: That they who promote. aid, or gain by a Revolution, will confent willingly, and all others by Necessity; tho' in all Inva-fions of Sovereignty in England, the Majority of the Nation hath been against them; yet the Less Party being stronger by the Possession of Power, hath forc'd the Consent of the Greater. That Consent therefore is the Effect, not the Cause of Possession; which cannot be made Morally Good by the Evil it produces; nor cease to be Evil, as long as it is Invasion of the Undoubted Right of the Lawful Heir. That the only Question therefore is. Whether Inheritance, or Possession, is by the 6 Constitution the true Right to the English Monarchy? That 'tis true, the Doctor acknowledges in plain Words, That the Crown is Hereditary;

and he denies it to be Elective: But what Kind of Inheritance can he mean confistently with himfelf? For First, He asserts, that the Inheritance may be limited by Parliament, but it follows, that it is an Inheritance which may be taken from one, givon to another, as often as the Parliament pleafes; which seems to be an Inheritance very different from what is usually understood by Hereditary Monarchy; for it is truly Elective, fince the Parliament chooses, or may choose the Successor always: 4 And it is more Elective here, than in other Elective Kingdoms; for in all others the Elected have ' a Right for Life; in this a new one may be elected every Session. Secondly, He maintains farther, that a King plac'd on the Throne by the States of the Realm. is a True and Lawful King for the Time being. He requires not, that his King should be of the Royal Family; he plainly declares, That if Cromwell had had, what he had not, the Consent of the Three Estates, he would have been, what he was not, a King for the Time being, with Legislative Power. Thus the Two Houses, without a King, can choose to this Hereditary Kingdom, and place on the Thorne what Person they please. Thirdly, He affirms, that either Queen Mary, or Queen Elizaberh, one or both, were Illegitimate, and yet had a Lawful Title; But a Baftard is of Blood to none in Law, Nullius Filius, and therefore cannot inherit. Thus, according to the Doctor, this Hereditary " Crown is the Lawful Inheritance of those, who in Law have no Father, and therefore cannot Inherit. That Fourthly, He affirms, That it is our Saviour's Doctrine, that Subjection is due to Possession, and by the Law of Nature to Protection: The Hereditary Kingdom may therefore be Rightfully enjoy'd by a Commonwealth, a Rump, a Committee of Safety, or any other Power, that can get Possession, and afford Protection. That such is the Doctor's · Hereditary

• others by I enaments, which were thought to give • a Lawful Right; others by Conquest; and others • by a false Pretence of Inheritance: But that Right

hath been always pretended; and all notorious Violations of Right were condemn'd at the Time by

all good Men, and rejected after by the whole Nation; which bath always restor'd the Rightsul Heirs,

as foon as it could shake off the Yoke of Conque-

fors and Intruders. That there have been many Changes in the Succession of England: Armies' have let up Kings, who had no Right of Inheritance; Parliaments have confirm'd them; other Armies have dethron'd; other Parliaments have attainted them; and have declar'd the Entails of Parliaments Null. There have been divers Temoporary Constitutions, if so they may be call'd; as the Gonstitution of Conquest, of Kings by Election, of Sovereignty in the two Houses, of a Commonwealth, and lailing of Protectors; every Power in Possession hath been the Constitution. But that the Seeds of these Constitutions fell upon a Rock; forwith they sprung up and flourish'd; but because they had not Root, they wither'd away; none of them liv'd fo long, as to gain the Title of Prefcription; one or two grew up to Maturity, and 'died'; the rest perish'd in their Infancy. The Tree of Hereditary Right hath been several times cut down to the Ground; but the Stump of the Roots in the Earth hath grown up again, and hath reached unto Heaven. The Kingdom hath been sure, and the Nation hath been convinc'd, that the Heavens do rule. That after the Norman Conquest, when the Government was quietly fettled under Henry I. all the great Men of the Kingdom bound themselves by Oath, to the Succession of Mand his only Heir, to whom alone (as a good Historian affirms) the Lawful Succession was due from her Grandfather, Uncle, and Father, all Kings; and from her Mother's Race for many Ages past. By her Right succeeded Henry II. her Son, from whom all the Royal Family is defreended; and he and 'all his Successors, for above 550 Years, have enjoy'd or claim'd the Crown by Hereditary Right; even those who had it not, did claim it; as John, Henry IV. Richard III. Henry VII. Which feems an evident Proof, that our Conflitu-

tion is Inheritance. That in Morality 'tis thought an good Proof of the natural Distinction between Right and Wrong, that the Worst of Men pretend. to Justice, and would prefer Right, if by it they could compais their Desires: There have been often Competitors in Poland, about the Right to the Kingdom; all have claim'd by Election: The Con-fitution of *Poland* is therefore Elective. The Kings of England, who had not Hereditary Right, have claim'd it for many Ages; never was any King in England, who would not have prefer'd Hereditary Right to all other Titles; the *Constitution of England is therefore Hereditary : But if Possession is Right; Birthright, and all other Rights are Songs and Fables. That all Hereditary Titles, that were ever receiv'd in this Mand, were united in the Person of King James I. The Three Estates in Parliament, by the Act of Recognition (1 Ja. c. 1.) acknowledging this to be an inefimable, and unspeakable Blessing, agnize the King's indubitable Right, and their own most constant Faith and Obedience to his Majesty, and his Royal Progeny. And declare, That immediately on the Decease of Queen Elizabeth, the Imperial Crown of England did descend to His Maj sty. That his Right to the Crown it Inherent Birthright, and Lawful Succession, as being Lineally, Justly, and Lawfully next, and Sole Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm. To which 4 Right they faithfully submit and oblige themselves, their Heirs, and Posterities for ever, until the last Drop of their Bloods be spent. They beseech his Majesty to acecept the same, as the first Fruits, in the High Court of Parliament, of their Loyally and Faith to his Majesty, and to his Royal Progeny, and Posterity for ever. They preface all this by affirming, That they are bounden. thereunto by the Laws of GOD and Man. And to put out of all Doubt the perpetual Obligation of

this Law, in the Intention of the Legislators, they enact it, as a Memorial to all Posterities, amo g the Records of Parliament for over to endure. Now adds the Author, What Law for the Declaration of Right can be found, in all the Codes and Pandects of the World, more express, more full, and comorehensive? How could they bind more strongly themselves to the King, their Heirs to his Heirs, their Posterity to his Posterity for ever? They * make the Hereditary Right, and the Obligation of the Subjects to it, as far as they can, immutable, and eternal: They affirm, it is establish'd by Law Divine, and Humane: The Right of the Crown is ont Possession with or without Consent; it de-Gended to King James before Possession, at the Instant the Queen died; so it is to descend by this Law to his Heirs for ever: The true Right is (not Possession, but) Inherent Birthright, Lineal Succession. Other Persons were then living of the "Royal Family; but the Next is declar'd to be the Sole Heir. The Crown is appropriated to the Next Heirs of the Royal Family for ever: The Three Estates vow Obedience and Loyalty to the King and his Heirs, by Lineal Descent; they debar themselves and their Posterity from paying it to others: They devote their own Blood, the last Drop of it, and all the Blood of their Heirs, to maintain the Lawful Succession against all Oppofers: And to this Eternal Duty they are bound by the Laws of GOD and Man. The Vows and Acts of Fathers are supposed to bind their Posterity: The Three Estates presume that they have a Power 6 to bind theirs; They affirm in this Recognition, That the Court of Parliament is the whole Body of the * Realm; The Politic Body is the same now as it was then; and every Member of it hath in Effect made the same Recognition; so that this Act, till the

Society hath revok'd it Lawfully, lays the same Obligation on every Member of the Society, as if he had Personally consented to it. This Act is an Original Contract, made with the First King of this Line, and with his Posterity; the whole Nation obliges it self therein to the Heirs of this Family for ever; if before this Act of Recognition there were Disputes about the Right of Succession, here they are ended: After this Law, there cannot be any reasonable Dispute, to whom the true Duty of Allegiance is due, by all Laws, Reason, and good Conscience; for here it is declared. That the three Estates, and all the Realm, are bound by the Laws of GOD and Man, to pay it to the Lawful Heir in the Order of Succession. That here it may be remember'd, that the Right of Inheritance, established so fully in this A& of Recognition, is again more briefly, but as effectually declared in the Act of Charles II. (12 Car. 2. c. 12.) wherein it is affirmed, in Opposition to all Usurpations, That the f Imperial Crown of these Realms appertains by Just and Undoubted Right, to the King, and to his Heirs and Lawful Successors. As the undoubted Right was in King Charles, fo after him in his Lawful Heirs: As the Crown appertain'd by Law to him, when he was out of Possession, so it must be underflood to belong to his Heirs and Lawful Successors, if they should be out of Possession also. By the Act of King James, Birthright is declar'd to be the perpetual Right to the Crown: In this A& of Charles II. it is affirm'd to be the undoubted Right, eyen when others are in Possession. Neither of these Acts are expressly repeal'd; and both together feem to make an impregnable Proof, that Hereditary Right was by Law the only Right to the Crown of England. That against the politive Determination of Law, 'tis in vain to object the Pleading's

of Apprentices in Law, and even the Sayings of great Lawyers, disprov'd by great Lawyers, and contradicted by themselves. If Lawyers will contradict the Principles of Law, the Right of Descent and Duty of Allegiance, can their Contradiction destroy them? The Sayings and Sentiments of Lawyers must be judged of by Law, which is the adequate Rule of Moral and Civil Action; and if Law is not a clear Rule about the Right to Sovereignty, this Dispute can have no Determination; the Opinion of Lawyers can neither indemnify Men in this World, nor secure them from Damnation in the other. That much e less is this Controversy to be determin'd by Facts and Precedents, which, how frequent foever, must be justify'd by Law: For Actions are not Lawful, because they are done and recorded; but because they are conformable to Law: And it is certain, that Injustice, publick and private, hath more Precedents, and fills History more, than Right and Justice. That King. Stephen enjoy'd the Kingdom by Perjury, Fraud, and Violence; Edward II. was deopos'd, and cruelly murder'd; Edward III. a Minor, was fet on his Father's Throne before his Time; Henry IV. contrary to his Oaths, and his Engagements with his own Party, depos'd and murder'd his Sovereign, and assum'd his Crown; Richard III. besides many other Horrible Murders, kill'd the King and his Brother, and took their Inheritance; Henry VIII. fix'd and unfix'd the Succession, as suited his Lust and Pleasure: A Parliament rais'd a Rebellion against the best of our Kings, by his own Authority; A Part of it Depos'd and Murder'd him . A Commonwealth was fet up; and an Officer affum'd the Sovereignty, and transmitted it to his 6. Son and Heir: These were Impious and Tragical Adions, of which the Aftors have been, and are, and will be condemn'd by all good Men for ever-1 That Dr. Higden cannot possibly approve them; .I. la

vet by several of these, and such Precedents as these, he justifies his Opinion, That Possession with Consent is Right: Tho' the Possession hath been extremely wicked, and the Consent to Wickedness extreme Iniquity. That he could find no Precedeuts, in which there was not a long Chain of Wickedness, Perjury, Rebellion, Invation, Deposition, Murder, and Possession; that he hath colle-Ered out of History the greatest Crimes, and call'd them the Constitution: That a Divine might have ' consider'd, what hath been often urged, and seems unanswerable; that Unjust Possession obliges to Repentance and Restitution: And that no Man can have a true Right to what he is bound to restore; nor can others be oblig'd to maintain him in it. That the Doctor, no doubt, had read and consider'd. The true and exact History of the Succession. (By Dr. Brady, printed An. 1681.) If that History is not what it pretends to be, the Doctor would have oblig'd the World by refuting it; but if it be really true and exact, as it is generally esteem'd to be; it is undoubtedly a full Refutation of the Docor's Opinion. Here it bath been attempted to orove, that his Opinion makes the most unjust Posfession (as was Oliver's) rightful; and destroys the Hereditary Right, so long Establish'd by the Constitution; and if the Doctor hath not sufficiently guarded his Opinions against these Objections, they feem evidently to overthrow it. But because Books not particularly Answer'd, are boasted as Unanwerable. And because it may be of Service to the Publick, and to Truth it felf, to vindicate our Law and History from the Mistakes of the Doctor, the • Author hath taken the Pains to follow him thro' all his Labyrinth: And, to make the Way thro' it' more easy, he hath examin'd, in the Order of Time, all the Historical Facts produced by him; hath refuted his Arguments and Comments upon them, and recity'd his Errors about the English Constitution.

After this Introduction, the Author endeavours to prove, that the People's Submif- the Contents sion to such Kings as were not Heirs to the of the Book. Crown by immediate Descent, is no Argument that Possession gives Right to Allogiance: And to clude the Force of Dr. Hieden's Arguments against Horoditary grounded on the several Deviations from the Lineal Descent, in the Succession to the Crown, fince the Conquest, he maintains, that the Kings of England had anciently a Power of Disping of the Cown by Testament; that the Consent, Resignation, and Cossion of the Rightful Heir were certainly sufficient to make Kings do Facto Rightful: And that therefore Submission might be paid them on one of these Accounts. This being a Point very Material to the Author's Delign, he eadeavours to evince it by the Example of William the Conquerer, whom he afferts to have been a Lawful King in both thefe Regards, and justifies Edward the Confosor's Nomination of him for his Successor. What the Author infinuates, on this Occasion, Artful Infine. · If it be ation to justideserves particular Attention. faid, (fays he, page 26 and 27.) that Ed-fy an unlawward the Confessor was an unjust Possessor, of a Crown, his Nephews by his Elder Brother being ill he bas an ' living to whom he ought to have re-occasion to refign'd the Crown; lanswer, that when fore it to the " Historys are silent it does not become Rightful Heir.

private Men to be forward in passing a ludgment on the Actions of Princes.

The

The Authors who have transmitted to us an Account of Edward's Reign, say nothing upon this Subject; either that the Descendants of Edmund Ironside, laid Claim to the Crown; or that King Edward discover'd any Inclination to do them Justice, at least till the XIth Year ' of his Reign: But it may, possibly, be unreasonable from thence to infer. that all that time he was a wrongful Poffessor; because Cases may be supposed of Princes, who for want of Power and Opportu-' nity of Doing Right to the Lawful Heir, are forced to endure the Burden of a · Crown, which they would readily and gladly case themselves of, upon a proper Occasion: As when the Rightful Heir is abroad, in a distant Kingdom, and perhaps at the disposal of a Foreign Prince, on whose Will and Pleasure his Return to his Country chiefly depends. the Possession of a Throne has this to plead for himself, (which may be true of King Edward, for any thing that can be alledged to the contrary) I may appeal to the severest Interpreters of the Actions of Princes, whether the Exercise of Royal Power, in fuch Circumstances can be charged with USURPATION; or, as some choose rather to express themselves, whether such a Person is only a King de facto: For it is not the bare seizing and filling a Throne, but the Will of the Possessor, that must denominate him an USURPER. He that invades another's Right, with an Intention to detain it from him, and a Resolution never

to restore it to the true Proprietor, is Vol. VI certainly guilty of the highest Injustice; But if he accepts of a Crown, only that he may secure it to the Right Owner, and the better disappoint the Designs of his Enemies; most certainly he obliges him, by a very extraordinary Act of Friendship.

How some Persons have taken this Artful Infinuation, is hard to determine: But, to proceed, the Author after that shews the Right King Edward the Confessor had to name William the Conqueror for his Successor; and then labours to prove that William Rufus, and Henry I. were also Lawful This done, he comes to King Kings. Stephen, whom he calls the First Usurper; and pretends that in his Reign, the most turbulent of any, there were no Footsteps of Dr. Higden's Principle, viz. Allegiance being due to Kings de Facto. On this Occasion the Author mentions particularly Earl of Gloucester, who own'd himself bound in Conscience to the Right of the Empress Maud; the King of Scotland, who suffer'd much in Defence of her Right; and the Behaviour of the Clergy, who made a Distinction between King Stephen, and a King de Jure; shews what Influence the Pope's pretended Power of setting up Kings had in those Days; and afferts that our Historians date Stephen's Right from his Agreement with Hen. which concurs to the Author's main Delign, which is to establish a Testamentary and Ces-· fionary Right, in order to account for the Allegiance which, at divers Times, the Clergy, Nobility, and People, have paid

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Vol. VI. to Unlawful Possessor of the Throne. In the same View he passes on to Henry 11. whom he maintains to have been a rightful King, because it is most probable his Mother, the Empress Maud, had resign'd ber Right to bim. Here he answers Dr. Higden's Argument, from a Paffage in our Homilies; difcovers a Mistake committed by the Compilers of shim ; defends Bishop Merks meaninst Doctor Higden's Reflections, upon his pretended Submission to Henry IV. argues against the Doctor, who fays there were no Non-jurors under Kings de Facto, and pretends that ought to be presumed, till the contrary is proved; and brings in the Instances of fever ral, that ought to be reputed fuch. He also takes Notice, that in those Days the Inferior Clergy were not obliged to take Oaths of Allogiance; and fuggests, that, had the Clergy of England enjoy'd this Privilege at the Time of the Late Revolution, near Four Hundred of them had quietly continued in the Possession of their Livings, of which they were for no other Reason deprived, but because they we e He adds that William the Non-jurors. Conqueror was not fo generally sworn to, as Dr. Higden presends; and that several of the Nobility and Gentry left the Kingdom, re-ther than submit to him; after this, he takes Notice of the Doctor's Mistake in afferting, That all the Right Heirs of the Crown submitted to Henry IV. proves that Owen Glendor made War upon him for the Sake of she Right Hoir; rectifies a Mistake of our common Histories, concerning that Welsh Gentleman; shows that the Percies also ejpoused the Quarnel of the Right Heir against Henry

Henry IV. and vindicates them against the Vol. VI. Doctor, out of a Manuscript Copy of Harding's UNI Chronicle, part of which was never printed, and now preserved, according to the Author's Quotation, pag. 81. in BIBLIOTH. HARLEY, that is, the LIBRARY OF THE present E. of Oxford and Mortimer. Ld. HIGH-TREASURER, to which, it feems, the Author had free Access. To omit nothing that may be serviceable for the Desence of the Percies, the Author takes Notice of a Principle generally receiv'd in those Times, that all Actions done through Fear of Death were pardonable at least, if not lawful; and then affirms, that the Breach of Original Contract, charg'd by the Percies on Henry IV. may be justly charg'd on such Elective Kings; that Archbishop Scroop join'd with the Earl of Northumberland against Henry IV. in Favour of the Right Heir; and that these great Men's Rising against him, was not Rebellion and Perjury, but Loyalty. After this he sets before the Reader a Short View of the Miseries of that Reign, to which purpose he quotes a Reslection of Sir Walter Rawleigh's, in his Preface before his History of the World. In the next Place the Author shews, that the People's Submission to Henry V. was not so universal as the Doctor makes it; that Richard, Duke of York's Claim against Henry VI. was approved in Parliament; pretends, that Edward IV. and his Parliament were not blameable for calling Henry V. and Henry VI. Kings in Deed, and not of Right, notwithstanding their Oaths, and his; that the' the Oaths of Richard, Duke of York, M m

Vol. VI. and his Son, to Heavy VI. had tild shein from claiming, yes this did not tye their Babpolls; and that a King cannot resign wiebout the Confent of the Three Estates. How ges, that this Culo is a most manifest Declaration in Pavour of Right against Possession; and that Kings de Facto always fortify'd their Titles by the Pope's Apprehation: To which Purpose, he brings in another Quotation out of a MS in the Lord TREASURIR'S Library; and observes, 'That none of our Princes have been so kind to the 6 Popes, as those who had the weakest * Titles; because they found it their Interest, to purchase the Favour and Protection of the Papal See, by large and unreasonable Grants and Concessions. After this he confiders Doctor Higden's Arguments for Allegiance to Kings de Facto, from the presended Allowance of the Kings de fure themselves: And maintains that this Allowance cannot be infer'd from the Distancimuanto of Processes, and Law Suits, as the Demise of Kings de Facto; nor from the Validity of their Grants, Licenses, &c. Upon this Occasion the Author enters into a large Discussion of Bagos's Case; which he says was mifrepresented by Dr. Higden, and protonds, that his Inferences are wrong, both from the Plea of Bagot's Counsel, and from the Judgment given in Bagot's Favour: Which neither necessarily imply d the Validiey of Henry Vieb's Grants; nor did the Validaty of that King's Grants imply the Allowance of his Authority. To the same purpose, the Author considers Sir Ralph Grey's Case, which had been overlook'd by Dr. Higden,

and is failly reported in the Year-Books, as Vol VIwell as in Holinshead; and proves that he was condomn'd, not in a Court of Common Lave, but in a Court Martial lutho next Place he asserts, that Kings de Juse have no where allow'd the Legislative Authority of their Predecessors de Hacto; that all the Alle of the Three Henrica, of the House of Latin castar, more held to be defettive, in Point of Authority, in the Reign of Edward IV. that fame of them funk of themselves, upon his dewying to confious them ; that others were doclared vaid, and others confirm'd, which the Laws of no Rightful King over more, for Want of Authority in the King; that the Act of the 13 Car. IL was confirmed for Want of Authority, not in the King, but in the Convention call'd wishout the King. That probably many more of the Three Henrics Laws were confirmed than what Dr. Higden mentions ; and that several of them, which de not appear to bave been confirmed, have get the Force of Land, is no Rroof of the Authority of those that made there. After this he enlarges upon the Argument, that the Validity of Lams does not abways depend upon the Authority of the first Makers of them; owns, that fome of the Alts of the Three Henrics may be allow'd to have been onby voidable an Edward W's Accession to the Crown , that others of them mere actually void: that nevertheless it was thought adviscable also to declare them void; afferts, that Richard's Laws was being repeal'd or annull'd by Henry VIL is no Argument of the Authority of the former, and gives the Rea-Son, may they were not amuli'd then, war Mm 2 since.

Vol. VI. fince. From hence he proceeds to Henry VII. affirms, that he was lawful King, only in Right of his Queen, not as descended from John of Gaunt; that the Statute of I Hen. VII. did not restore the Title of the House of Lancaster; and having consider'd the Argument of the Statute II Hen. VII. pretends, that that Statute, in the modern Sense of it. was needless, if Allegiance had been due to Possession by the Common Law; argues, that it could not be intended for the Benefit of Kings de Facto and their Adherents, Henry VII. having attainted such, and their Attainders being unrepealed when this Act pass'd; that Dr. Higden's Assainders by Parliaments ex post Facto, are unintelligible; that Henry VIL design'd nothing by that Statute but the Interest and Safety of his own Adherents: that he could propose no Benefit from it to himfelf, but as King de Jure, nor are the Words of the Act applicable to a King de Facto. This done, the Author answers Doctor Higden's Argument from the Opinion of great Lawyers on this Statute; considers the Case of the Lady Jane Grey; says, that the Judges Opinion in that Case, that the Broad Seal of an Usurper was of no Authority, does not depend on that Lady's having been in Possession of the Throne; that yet her own Council affert, she was in full Possession; and Queen Mary her self seems to own it: That the Doctor's Observations from History against ber Possession, are not so incontestable as he imagines; that on this Occasion he has plainly alter'd the State of the Question; and that be reduced into a narrow Compass the Services to be boped from this Alt, which, after all,

was repealed by King William, by an Act Vol. VI. which declares the Subjects absolv'd from their Allegiance, if the King of England ' should ever appear to be a Pap st.' this Occasion the Author considers the Lord Chief Justice Hale's Judgment in the Case of the Lady Jane Grey; and what Authority is to be attributed to the Opinion of Hen. VIII's Judges, That the Crown takes away all Defects and Stops of Blood; shews that that Maxim is not universally true; and that Acts done in Contempt of it are approved and commended in our Laws. Moreover, he asserts, that the Right of the Legislature to limit the Succession, is no Argument that Allegiance is due to Kings de Facto; that none of their Atts of Limitation have ever yet effe-Etually excluded the next Heir by Proximity of Blood: (p. 185.) But sooner or later, Providence has hither to so order'd it, that those who were first in the Line of Descent, have at length gain'd the Crown, not-. withstanding all Parliamentary Provi-' sions to the contrary.' And that their Entails of the Crown upon the House of Lancaster, did not keep out the House of York. In the next Place, the Author confiders the Limitation of the Crown by Henry VIII's Will, in Pursuance of an Act of Parliaments proves that his Will was admitted, executed, and publish'd, as a legal and good Will; pretends that Dr. Higden has not produced any Objection of Weight enough to render its Validity questionable; and censures, en pallant, the Third Volume of the Compleat History of England. Upon the same Occasion, be vindicates Charles Brandon, Duke

Vol. VI. Dake of Suffalk from the Charge of Polycemy, takes Notice, that after this Columny had been confuted, it was revived in the Biftop of Sarum's Hiftery of the Reformation, and that this Stander affects the Principal Nobility now living, who have the Honour to be descended from that Duke, and the Daughter of so great a King. For a further Vindication of the Houle of Suffith, the Author brings in a large Quotation out of a MSof Mr. John Hales, written in the Year 2464. After which he accounts for the Reasons that induced Henry VIII. to exelude the Scotch Line; and observes, that sho' Queen Blizabeth made is High-Treason so dany this Power of Limitation in her Life-Time, yet in Opposition to it she discouraged the Suffolk Title, and made Way for the Fawily of Scotland to the Thrope; in which fie affed contrary to the Parliamentary Butail. Fis true (lays the Author, p. 211) the took Care to let King James know, that " while he continued of the Popish Persua-+ sion, he must not hope for her Friend-Aip; and even his Mother, as violent a Papist as the was, knew to well the Aversion which the Court of England had against her Religion, that she never thought it advisable in any of her Letters to her Son, to distuade him from 4-persevering in the Present and Profession; and when the was laying her Head upon the Block, the fent this halt Message to him; 'That alsho' the was of another Religion, than that wherein be was brought up, yet fie 4 would not press bim to change, except his . Confesence forced him to it; not dealting but if he lead a good Life, and were careful to

do Justina, and rouden well, he would be in Vol. VIV a good Cafe in his own Religion. In Gom-Diance therefore with the wholefome Counsels of his best Friends, he, at length, declared himself openly against the Church of Rome, and thereby thin'd entirely. Queen Elizaberb's Affections. who before had dispensed her Favours to him but sparingly, and with great Referves. But as foon as the was affired chat his Sentiments in Religion became conformable to her own, the was not wanting, in all proper Encouragements to him, to look upon the Succoffon as effectually secured to him after her Deocaso. And it is not a little romarkable. that her Chief Ministrates who had been most active in bringing the Mother to the Souffold, were not affaid to continue their named Budeavours to bring the Son to the Threne; fo much more powerful was their Concern for the Interest and Welfare of their Country. than their Regards to their own private Safety and Advantage. This Obvious Alleston being premis'd, the Author considers the Dr's Argument to prove the Authority of Parliamentary Entails, from the Succession of Queen Maty and Queen Elizabeth; and pretends, that it is a Mistake, that these Quiens had no other Title than the 34 Hen. VIII. and that they could not be both legitimate. He also considers the Do-Ber's Authorities of our Best Modern Lawvers; and labours to shew, that the Lord Chancellor Bacon is against him, in several of his Writings; that Sir Edward Coke was not almays

Vol. VI. always for him; that the Laws did not cease under Cromwell; that the Lord Chief Jufice Hale is also clearly against the Doctor, in bis MS. History of the Pleas of the Crown; that our Laws themselves are against the Doctor's Constitution; and fo are our Ancient Lawyers, particularly Sir John Fortescue, and Dr. Morton, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, and Cardinal; and that the Judges, upon the Tryal of the Regicides, declared, That Charles II. during his Exile, was King both de Facto and de Jure. In the last Place, the Author considers Dr. Higden's Argument from the Scriptures; says, that this was Shemei's and Hushai's Plea for Absolom; that the Jews Submission to the Midianites. Moabites, and other Conquerors, does no Service to the Doctor's Constitution; nor our SAVIOUR'S Resolution of the Case about Paying Tribute to Cæsar: Which, in the Do-Etor's Sense, proves Allegiance to have been due to Cromwell; notwithstanding the Dostor's Fruitless Attempts to evade the Consequence. Upon this Occasion, the Author observes, that the Parliament of 1642, first fet this Doctrine of Allegiance to a King Ge Facto in its true Light, and that upon the Statute of 11 Hen. VII. That King Charles I. treated their New Exposition of that Statute with Contempt, and that the like Declaration was made againstait by Mr. Sollicitor, afterwards Lord Chancellor Finch. After this the Author examines Grotius's Exposition of that Text about the Tribute (Render to Casar, &c.) fets down other different Expositions, which the Dr. has not refuted: And maintains, that

that our SAVIOUR does not always re- Vol. VI. quire the Jews to do more for Calat, than was confiftent with the common Principles of Right and Justice; that the Fact on which Grotius's Argument is founded, seems plainly to be mistaken; That Grotius himself was not always of this Opinion, which would have been fo fatal to the Roman Empire, that if it had been Christian, that alone would have engaged the Romans to extirpate Christianity: That if it be a Christian Law, it is such as never had Authority in any Christian Nation; and that Saint Ambrose and the Christians of that did not observe it with regard to Maximus, who was Emperor de Faco, whose Laws and Edicts were all declared null by Theodosius, as the Laws of Usurpers us'd to be by the Christian Emperors. Then the Anthor proposes, whether, if we suppose the Tribute Money to have been coined by the Jews, that would not make our Savigur's Argument more intelligible? And offers some Considerations that seem to favour this Con-jecture, which is farther countenanced by comparing it with that, which afferts the Romans themselves to have coined this Tribute-Money. He considers another Conjecture, VIZ. That the Inscription on the Tribute-Money was Judæa capta; vindicates the Authority of Lex Regia against the Doctor; proves from it, and from the Roman Hoftorians, the Title of Tiberius; affirms, that the Romans were Rightful Governors of Judza, by the Submifsion of the Jews, however forcible that Submission is pretended to have been; brings in the Judgment of Two Great Historians for the Validity

Vol. VI Validity of Agreements submitted to by Force; shews that the Jews submitted by Force to the Babylonians, and yet are condemn'd for disobeying that Government; and concludes with the Words of the Prophet, Bzek. Ch. xvii. Vet. 15, &c. Shall be prosper? Shall be escape that does such things? Or, shall he break the Covenant and be deliver'd? As I live, says the LORD GOD, surely in the Place where the King dwelleth, that made him King, whose Oath he despised, and whose Covenant he broke, even with him, in the midst of Babylon shall he dye. Seeing he despised the Oath, by breaking the Covenant (when lo! He had given His Hand) and has done all

these things, he shall not escape.

The Appendix to this Book contains, I. A Passage out of Sir John Fortescue's Defence of the Title of the House of Lancaster; II. Proceedings of Richard, Duke of York's Claim against Henry VI. &c. III. The Pope's Confirmation of Henry VIII's Marriage, and of his Title, IV. The All for legimating the Beaufort Family. V. A Letter from Queen Jane's Privy Council to the Sheriff, &c. of Kent. VI. A Passage out of the Journal of the House of Lords, containing the Declaration of Henry VIII's Death, and the Reading of a great Part of his Will to that House. VII. Mr. J. Hale's Declaration of the Succession of the Crown. VIII. An Authenrick Copy of Henry VIIIth's Will. IX. A Passage out of My Ld. Chancellor Ellesmere's Speech in the Exchequer Chamber, touching the Postnati. And X. Sir Francis Bacon's Argument in the same Case; with some Reflections upon Both.

This Book was first published in the Post- Vol. VI. Boy of the 10th, and 13th, and afterwards in the London-Gazette of the 17th This Book puof October; besides which, great Care Post Boy and and Industry was used to have Title Pages Gazette, &c. dispersed, and affixed in the most Remarkable and Frequented Places in the Cities of London and Westminster. It being obvious to every Reader, that the Defign of this Performance was to level and smooth the Way for the Restoration of the Pretender, or (to use a more Courtly Expression) of The Person, the Friends to the Protestant Succession in the most Illustrious and most Serene House of Hanover, could not but be alarm'd at it; and the rather because this Book feem'd to come abroad with some Distinaion, and Signs of publick Allowance; not to mention the Quotations from Manuscripts in the Library of the Lord High-Treasurer, on which some Men were prone enough to put a Sinister Interpretion. Hereupon, the Ministry thought it incumbent on their Duty to take Notice of this Book; and Mr. Richard Smith, the Bookieller, having, by a Warrant from the Ld. Viscount Bolingbroke, been brought to His Lordship's Office, and examin'd,

Bedford, who likewise was examin'd; whereupon they were both bound over to Mr. Richard appear before the Court of Queen's-Bench. Smith, and However, it is confidently reported, that Mr. Bedford Mr. Bedford has but a Small Share in this bound over.

he declared, that Mr. Bedford, a Nonjuring-Minister, had deliver'd the Copy to the Printer. This was own'd by Mr.

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Book;

Vol. VI. Book; and 'tis the general Opinion, that 'tis owing to the Joint-Labours of several Nonjarors, particularly Mr. Lefley and Mr. Nelson.

> Having said thus much concerning the Book of the Hereditary Right, &c. the Readers would have Reason to question my Title to Impartiality, should I pass over

in Silence, a Pamphlet publish'd about the Introduction same Time, intitled, An Introduction to to the 3d Vol. the Third Volume of the HISTORY of of the Historia Volume of the HISTORY of ty of the REFORMATION of the Church formation.

of England: By the Right Reverend Father in God, Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum: Printed for John Churchill. The principal Motive that prompted the Learned Author to have this Introduction printed fingle, and in a Smaller Form (as he tells us in a Short Letter prefix'd to it, directed to his Bookseller) is to give such publick Notice of his Design, that it may come into the Hands of those, who perhaps look not into the Advertisements in Gazettes, and so may move them that can furnish him with other Materials, to help him to sinish this Work with great Advantage, for which he is ready to make them all the Returns that are in his. Power. The Bishop of Sarum having gone over all the Matters that do properly fall within his Introduction, leaves the Sense of the Subject of his Third, and the Two former Volumes of his History upon the Consciences of his Readers in these

Abstratt of it. Words. 'Can it be possible (fays he) that any are so depraved as to wish we had

on Religion at all, or to be Enemies to the Carifian Religion? Would these Men

f reduce

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reduce us to be a Sort of Hottentotes? And yet this must grow to be the Effect of our being without all Religion. Mankind is a Creature, by his Make and Frame disposed to Religion; and if this is not managed by true Principles, all the Jugglings of Heathenism would again take Possession of the World. It the Principles of Truth, Justice, Temperance, and of universal Love, do not govern Men, they will soon grow Curses and Plagues to one another: And a Crew of Priests will grow who will teach them to compound for all Crimes, and to explate the blackest Practices by some Rituals.

Religion has to much to struggle with, that, if it is not believed to be reveal'd by God, it will not have Strength enough to relift those ill Inclinations, those Appetites and Passions, that are apt to rise up in our Minds, against its Dictates. there in the true and unsopnisticated Christian Religion, that can give a Colour to Prejudices against it? The whole Complex of that Rule of Life which it prescribes, is so plainly suited to our Composition. both in our Souls and their Faculties, and in our Bodies, with relation to good Health, to Industry. and long Life; and to all the Interests of Humane Society, to the Order and Peace of the World. and to the Truth and Love that are the Cements. and Securities of the Body Politick; that, without, any labour'd Proof of its divine Original, these e are such Characters, that they may serve to prove it is fent into the World by a Lover of Mankind; who knew our Nature, and what was proper both. to perfect it, and to render it not only safe but hap-6. py.

But when to all this we add the Evidence that was given at its appearing in the World: That he who was the first Author of it, and those, whom

e he employ'd first to propagate it, did, upon many · Occasions, in full Day-Light, and in the Sight of great Multitudes, do things fo far above the Powers of Nature, in such uncontested Miracles, that by these it evidently appear'd they were assisted by fomewhat superiour to Nature, that could command it at Pleasure: Here is the fullest Ground of Conviction possible. These things were written, publish'd and receiv'd in the Age, in which they were transacted: And those Writings have been e preserv'd with great Care, and are transmitted down to us, at the Distance of above sixteen Ages, opure and uncorrupted. In these we have the fixed Standard of our Religion, and by them we can fatisfy our selves concerning all such Practices as have been made upon it, or fuch Inferences are drawn from it. I wish those who take to them-· selves the Name of Free-Thinkers, would consider e well, if they think it is possible to bring a Nation to be without any Religion at all, and what the Con-· sequences of that may prove; and then see if there is any Religion fo little liable to be corrupted, and that tends so much to the Good of Mankind, as the true Christian Religion, reform'd among us?

As for those that do truly believe this Religion, and have an ingenuous Sense and Taste of Liberty, can they admit a Comparison to be made between a Religion restrained to a fixed Standard, into which every one is admitted, to examine the Sense of it, in the best Method he can; and that which sets up another uncertain Standard, of which they pretend to be the Depositaries, I mean Traditions; and pretend further, they are the Infallible Expounders of it, and that the true Standard it self, is not to be exposed to common View? That God is to be Worshipped in a Language not understood; that instead of a competent Provision to those who labour in this Work, the Head of them is to be

come a great Prince, and may pretend to a Power to dispose of Kingdoms and States, to pardon Sins, and to redeem Sinners out of the Miseries of a future State; and that the Character derived from him is so sacred, that, in defiance to Sense and Reason, a Priest by a few Words, can work a Miracle, in Comparison to which the greatest of Miracles is nothing; and who, by these means, have possessed themselves of an immense Wealth, and vast Authority?

'These are all Things of so strange a Nature, and fo contrary to the Genius and Design of the Christian Religion, that it is not easy to imagine how they could ever gain Credit and Success in the World: But when Men's Eyes have been once open'd, when they have shaken off the Yoke, and got out of the Noose; when the Simplicity of true Religion has been seen into, and the Sweets of Liberty have been tasted, it looks like Charm and Witchcraft, to see fo many looking back fo tamely on that Servitude, under which this Nation groaned so heavily for so many Ages. They may foon fee and know what our happy Condition is, in the Freedom we enjoy from these impositions, and what their Misery is, that are condemned to them. It is not enough for fuch as understand this Matter, to be contented in their own Thoughts, with this, that they resolve onot to turn Papists themselves: They ought to 'awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and the most stupid, to apprehend their Danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost Industry, to guard against it, and to resist it. They ought to use all their Efforts to prevent it, and earnestly to pray to God for His Blessing upon them: If after all Men's Endeavours to prevent it, the Corruption of the Age, and the Art and Power of our Enemies, prove too hard for us, then, and not till then, we must submit to the Will of God, be silent, and prepare our selves for all the Extremities of Suffering and of Miscry; and if we fall under a Persecution, and cannot sly from it, we must resolve to glorify God, by bearing our Cross patiently. Illegal Sufferings are no more to be born, than the Violences of a Robber: But if the Law comes once to be in the Hands of those Wicked Men, who will not only revive the Repealed Laws against Hereticks, but, if they can, carry their Cruelty up to the Heighth of an Inquisition, then we must try by the Faith and Patience of the Saints, to go through Fire and through Water, and in all things to be more than Conquerors.

themselves, or hope to deceive others, have this in their Mouths, That Popery is not what it was before the Reformation; things are much mended, many Abuses are detected, and things are not so gross as they were then: And they tell us, that further Corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a Treaty with them; in particular they fancy they see the Error of proceeding severely with Hereicks, so that there is no Reason to apprehend the Return of such Cruelties, as were practised an

Age and a half ago.

In answer to this, and to lay open the Falshood of it, we are to look back to the first Beginning of Luther's Breach: It was occasion'd by the Scandalous Sale of Pardons and Indulgences, which all the Writers of the Popisto Side give up, and acknowledge it was a great Abuse; so in the Countries where the Reformation has got an Entrance, or in the Neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of: And it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous Trassick was now no more practised. But of late that we have had

Agnies in Spain and Pertugal, we are well affured that it is still carry'd on there, in the most barefac'd Manner possible. It is true, the proclaiming a Sale is forbid by a Bull, but there is a Commillary in every Place, who manages the Sale, with the most infamous Circumstances imaginable. In Spain, by an Agreement with the Pope, the King has the Profits of this Bull; and it is no small Brauch of his Revenue. In Portugal the King and the Pope go Shares: Dr. Collegion has given a very particular Account of the Managing the Bull there; for as there is nothing so impudent that those Men are shamed to venture on; so they may safely do what they please, where the Terror of the Inquisition is fo severe a Restraint, that Men dare not whisper sgainst any thing that is under that Protection.

A notable Instance of this has appear'd lately, when, in the Year 1709, the Privateers of Briffel took the Galleon, in which they found 500 Bales of these Bulls, and 16 Reams were in a Bale: So that they reckened the whole came to 3840000. "These Bulls are imposed on the People, and sold, the lowest, at 3 Ryals, a little more than 20 d. But to some at 50 Pieces of Eight, about 114 of our Money, and this to be valued according to the Ability of the Purchaser, once in two Years: All are oblig'd to buy them against Lens. Besides the Account given of this in the Cruifing Voyage, I have a particular Attestation of it by Capt. Dampier and one of the Bulls was brought me printed, but 4 fo, that it cannot be read. He was not concerned . in casting up the Number of them: But, he Lays, that there was such a vast Quantity of them, that they careen'd their Ship with them.

As for any Changes that may be made in Papery, it is certain, Infallibility is their Basis: So nothing can be altered where a Decision is once made:

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And as for the Treatment of Hereticks, there has been such a Scene of Cruelty of late open'd in France, and continued there, now almost 30 Years without Intermission, that even in the Kingdom, where Popery has affected to put the best Face on things possible, we have seen a cruel Course of Severity, beyond any thing in History. I saw it in its first and sharpest Fury, and can never forget the Impression that made on me.

A Discovery lately made, shews what the Spirit of those at Rome, who manage the Concerns of that Religion, is, even in a mild Reign, such as Odif-chalci's was; and we may well suppose that, because it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a Spirit of Persecution. When the Abbey of St. Gall was taken, in the late War in Switzerland, a Manuscript was found, that the Court of Propaganda ordered their Secretary to prepare for Innocent XI's own Use. which, after his Death, came into the Hands of Cardinal Sondrato, who was Abbot of St. Gall, and fo, at his Death, left this Book there. e gives a particular Account of all the Missions they they have in all Parts of the World; and of the Rules and Instructions given them, with which I hope those worthy Persons, in whose Hands this * valuable Book is now fallen, will quickly acquaint the World. The Conclusion of it is an Address to the Pope, in which they lay his Duty before him. from two of the Words in the New Testament, directed to St. Peter. The first was, Foed My Sheep, which obliged him not only to feed the Flock that was gathered at that Time, but to profecute the confant Increase of it, and to bring those Sheep into it, that were not of that Fold. But the other Word was addressed to him by a Voice from Heaven, when the Sheet was let down to him, full of

all Sorts of Beafts, of which some were unclean, rifa Peter kill and eat, to let all fee, that it is the Duty of the great Pontiff to rise up with Apostoli-cal Vigilance, to kill and to extinguish, in the Infidels, their present Life, and then to eat them, to consubstantiate their false and brutal Doctrine into the Verity of our Faith. There is an Affectation in these last Words, suitable to the Genius of the Italians. This Application of these two Passages, as containing the Duties of a Pope, was formerly made by Baronius, in a flattering Speech, to encourage Pope Paul V. in the War he was designing against the Venetians.

By this we fee, that how much foever we may Let the Fears of Popery wear out of our Thoughts, they are never asleep, but go on steadily, prosecuting their Designs against us. Popery is Popery fill; aced by a Cruel and Persecuting Spirit; and with what Caution foever they may hide or disown fome scandalous Practices, where Hereticks dare look into their Proceedings, and lay them open; e yet even these are still practised by them, when they know they may fafely do it, and where none dare open their Mouth against them; and therefore we see what Reason we have to be ever watching.

and on our Guard against them.

⁶ This is the Duty of every fingle Christian among but certainly those Peers and Commoners whom our Constitution has made the Trustees and Depositaries of our Laws and Liberties, and of the Legal Security of our Religion, are under a more particular Obligation, of watching carefully over this facred Trust, for which they must give a severe Account in the last Day, if they do not guard it against all Danger, at what Distance soever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the Fences and Outworks of it, or suffer Breaches to be made on any of them; if they fuffer any Part of our U0 2 Legal Legal Establishment to be crastily undermined; if they are either absent or remis, on Critical Oceasions; and if any Views of Advantage to themselves prevail on them, to give up or abandon the Establishment and Security of our Religion: God may work a Deliverance for us another Way, and it it feem good in His Byes, He will deliver us ; but they and their Families shall perish, their Names will tot. and be held in Detestation; Posterity will earle them, and the Judgments of God will overtake

them, because they have sold that which was the most facred of all things, and have let in an Inundation of Idolatry, Superstition, Tyranny, and Cruelty, upon their Church and Country. But in the last Place, those who are appointed to be the Watchmen, who ought to give Warning, and to life up their Voice as a Trumpet, when they fee those Wolves ready to break in and devour the Flock, have the heaviest Account of all others to make, if they negled their Duty; much more if they betray their Trust: If they are so set on some smal-ler Matters, and are so sharpened upon that Account, that they will not fee their Danger, nor awaken others to fee it, and to fiv from it; the Guilt of those Souls who have perished by their Means, God will require at their Hands, if they, in the View of any Advantage to themselves, are silent when they ought to cry out Day and Night: · They will fall under the Character given by the Proophet, of the Watchmen in his Time. They are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb Dogs. they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber: Yea they are greedy Dogs, which can never have enough: And they are Shepherds that cannot underfand, they all look to their own Way, every one for his Gain from his Quarter: That fay, Come, I will fetch Wine, and we will fill our selves with strong Drink; to Morrow fhall be as this Day, and much more abundant.

6 This

Tills is a lively Description of such Pastors as will not so much as study Controversies, and that will not know the Depths of Satan; that put "the Evil Day far off, and as the Men in the Days of Noab or Lot, live on at their Ease, satisfying themfelves in running round a Circle of dry and dead Performances, that do neither awaken themselves onor others. When the Day of Trial comes, what will they say? To whom will they sly for Help? Their Spirits will either sink within them, or they will fwim with the Tide: The Cry will be, The Church, the Church, even when all is Ruin and a Defolation. I hope they will feriously reflect, on the few Particulars that I have out of many more, laid together in this Introduction, and fee what Weight may be in them, and look about them, to confider the Dangers we are in, before it is too late: But what can be faid of those, who are already going into some of the worst Parts of Popery? It is well known, that, in Practice, the Necessity of Auricular Confession, and the Priestly Absolution, with the Conceit of the Sacrifice of the Mais, are the most gainful Parts of Popery, and are indeed those that do most effectually subdue the World to it. The Independance of the Church on the State, is also so contended for, as if it were on Delign to disgrace our Reformation. The indispensible Nocessity of the Priesthood to all Sacred Functions, is carried in the Point of Buptism, further than Popery. Their Devotions are openly recommended, and a * Union with the Gallican Church has been impudent-1 ly proposed; the Reformation and the Reformers are, by many, daily vilified, and that Doctrine, that has been most universally maintained by our best Writers, I mean the Supremacy of the Crown, is, on many Occasions, arraigned: What will all these things end in! And on what Design are they driven! Alas it is too visible.

God be thanked there are many among us that I fland upon the Watch Tower, and that give faithful Warning: that stand in the Breach, and make. themselves a Wall for their Church and Country; that " cry to God Day and Night, and lie in the Duft mourning. before Him, to avert those Judgments that seem to. hasten towards us. They search into the Mystery of Iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with all that Mass of Corruption, that is. in Papery. They have another Notion of the Worfhip of God, than to dress it up as a splendid Opera: They have a just Notion of Priesthood, as a Function that imports a Care of Souls and a folemn Performing the publick Homage we owe to God; but do not invert it to a political Piece of Craft, by which Men's Secrets are to be discovered, and all are: subdued by a Tyranny, that reaches to Men's Souls as well as to their Worldly Concerns. In a Word, they consider Religion in the Soul, as a secret Sense of divine Matters, which purifies all Men's Thoughts, and governs all their Words and Adions: And in this Light, they propose it to their People, warning them against all Dangers and against all Deceivers of all Sorts: Watching over them, as those that must give an Account to the Great Bishop of Souls, feeding the Flock over which the Holy Ghost has made them Overseers, ready to lay down their Lives for them, looking for their Crown from the Chief Shepherd, when He shall appear.

' May the Number of these good and faithful Servants encrease daily more and more; may their Labours be so blessed, that they may see the Travail of their Soul, and be satisfied; and may many by their Means, and by their Example, be so awaken'd, that they may relist even to Blood, stri-'ving against Sin, and against the Man of Sin: And may I be of that Number, labouring while it is Day, and

Fears of the

and ready when the Night comes, either to lie down and rest in the Grave, or if God calls me to it, to feal that Doctrine, which I have been preaching now above fifty Years, with my Blood: May His Holy Will be done, so I may but glorify Him in my Soul and Body, which are His.

The Dangers from Popery, mention'd in the Bp. of Salisbury's Introduction, will not appear altogether for groundless as some Dangers from People would represent them, if we consi- popery justider with what Zeal and Application the Persecution Court of France endeavour to extirpate of the Refuthe small Remains of the Protestants of that gees and Pro-Kingdoms; and with what Bitterness and testants of Inveteracy the unrelenting Spirit of the Bloody France. Festis, supported by the Authority of the Princes they keep under their Spiri-Yoke, continues perfecuting the Refugees, even in the Protestant Kingdoms, and States, where they have taken Sanadary. To this Purpose, I shall here infert an Ordinance lately publish'd in France, with a Letter concerning the Confequences of the same: The first is as follows.

Ordinance of By the King. the French K An Ordinance forbidding those of his Subjects against them. who are new Converts; to pass into foreign. Countries; and the Refugees to come into France, without bis Perm (jon.

At Fontaineblean, September 18. 1713. Is Majesty having, by an Edict of the Month of August, 1669. forbid

Vol. VI. ' forbid generally all his Subjects to retire out of his Kingdom, and settle in foreign Countries, by Marriage, Acquisition of immoveable Estates, and the transporting of their Families and Esfects; has by his other Edicts. Declarations, and Ordinances, of the Months of Ottober, 1685, 26th, of April, and '7th of May, 1686, 12th of October, 1687, 11th of February, 13th of Septemb. and 5th of December, 1699, particularly forbid his Subjects who are new Converts. them, their Wives, and Children, to go out of his Kingdom, Countries, and Territories, under his Obedience, without his Leave; and also forbid all Perfous to favour or affift them in their Evafion, expresly enjoining all Captains, Mafters, and Commanders, of French or · Foreign Ships, not to imbark or receive them on board, to convey them to foreign Countries; all under the Penalties therein expressed: And notwithstanding those · Edicas and Declarations were afterwards continually kept in Execution, and · Judgments were pronounced by his Judges and Officers, against Contravee ners; nevertheless His Majesty is informed, that his faid Subjects who are new Converts, as well those who have retired into foreign Countries, as those who still remain in the Kingdom, pretend, by an Abrie and wrong Interpretation of the Freedom of Commerce, reestablished between his Subjects and those of the Potentates with whom he was at War, to be, by Virtue of the last Treation

* Treaties of Peace concluded at Unricht, Vol VI-'no longer under the Prohibition and Peenalties expressed in the said Edicts, Declarations, and Ordinances, though His "Majesty never intended to derogate from, or any way invalidate the same, and though the Observation of the Laws of each State is exprelly referred by the faid Trenties. Now as His Majefty will indintain exactly that Freedom of Complerce, in the same Manner as it was exercised before the War, in such Sort that his Subjects, and those of the faid Potentates, may reciprocally pass and repass, in all Safety, from one Dominion to another, either to travel, or to work and traffick wherever they pals; without having need of Permissions of Passotts; fo he will not suffer those of his Subigeds now in his Kingdom, who are not vet distanted of the Errors of the presended reformed Religion, or who are mewly converted, to contravene his Prohibitions to go out of the Kingdom; nor those in the like Circumstances with respect to Religion, who, in criminal · Disobedience to his Orders, have retired to foreign Countries, and who would not take the Benefit of the Permillons which he gave them, by his Edicks and Declae rations of the Month of Ottober, and the 12th of November, 16893 10th of February, and / 29th of December, 1698; to return into France, within the Time, e and on the Conditions therein specified, to come impossibly, with Defign to foment and corroborate the bad Dispositions

Vol. VI. onsofMind of their Relations and Friends and even to incite them to repass with them into foreign Countries. His Majesty therefore has ordained and ordains, that his faid Edicts, Declarations, and Ordinances, shall be executed according to their Form and Tenor: And conformably thereto, he has and does most expresty and reiteratively prohibit and forbid all his Subjects of the pretended reformed Religion, or newly converted, Wives and Children, to go out of the 6 Kingdom, Countries, and Territories, under his Obedience, to foreign Dominions, and to transport thither their Goods and Effects, for any Caufe, or under any Pretext whatever, without His Majesty's Permission in Writing, on the Penalties denounced in the faid Edicts, Declarations, and Ordinances, as well against themselves as against those who fhall favour their Escape, or contribute thereto directly or indirectly. His Majesty likewise forbids all Captains, Masters, and Commanders of French and foreign Ships, of what Nation foever, to transport and land in the Ports of the Kingdom, Countries, and Territories. under his Obedience, his Subjects of the pretended reformed Religion, or new Converts, who have retired into foreign Countries, even tho' they have been naturalized there, or their Wives, and Children Even Those Born In The Said FOREIGN COUNTRIES; as also to imbark and receive on board any of his Subjects,

who are new Converts, to carry them Vol. VII • to foreign Countries, without his Per-" mission in Writing; all on the Penalties fpecify'd in the said Edicts. Declarations, and Ordinances. His Majelty forbids all Pilots, Wherrymen, dothers, to carry any of his faid Subjects, who are new Converts, on board French or foreign Ships, laden in the Roads of the Kingdom for foreign Countries, or to bring into the Ports, of France such of his faid Subjects, who may come in the faid Ships, on Pain of Corporal Punishe ment. His Majesty does not intend however to hinder the faid Captains. Masters, or Commanders of French or foreign Ships, to receive on board those of his other Subjects, who would go to travel in foreign Countries, or to work or traffick there for a Time, without Permissions or Pasports: The said Captains, Masters, or Commanders may bikewise receive on board those of His ⁶ Majesty's Subjects, new Converts, who would pass by Sea from one Province of our Kingdom to another, provided no-" vertheless that the said Subjects be fur-' nished with His Majesty's Permission in Writing, or the Permission of the Commissary appointed in the Generality where they dwell; which Permission shall declare exactly the Place whither they are to go, and the Route which they shall be obliged to take to get thither; and the said Permissions shall be e register'd in the Office of Admiralty of the Port where the Ship shall be, and be P p 2

Vol. VI. 'put into the Hands of the faid Captains, "Masters, and Commanders. Moreover, 'tis His Majesty's Will, that Process be made out, by his Judges, and Officers, attainst those of his Subjects, new Converts, who shall contravene, in any Manner whatever, the faid Edica and Declarations, and the prefent Ordinance; and that they be condemned to the Ponalties therein montioned: His "Majorty selenving to himfelf the exerting his Olemency and Goodness towards thase of his Subjects retired to foreign Countries, who becoming attentive and docile to Truth, and souched with Repensance for their ill Behaviour, would fetura into the Kingdom, there to take a new Oath, make a new Abjuration, and profess incerely and bond fide the "Cuthalick Religion. His Majesty commands and orders the Count de Touloufe, Admiral of France, the Vice-Admirals, Lieutenant-Generals, Intendants, Commodores, Captains of Ships, Commiffaries of the Marine and Classes, Officers of the Admiralty, and other Officers whom it shall concern, to see, each for himself, to the Execution of the present Ordinance, which 'tis his Will shall be read, published, and affixed wherever 'tis needful, to the end none may be ignorant of it. Done at Fontainebleau, the 18th of September, 1713. Signed LOUIS, and lower, Phelypeaux.

The

The Letter concerning the Confequen- Vol. VI. ces of this Ordinance, which was communicated to me, in order to be made publick, is as follows:

-Sir.

London, Od. 13th. 1713. bout the foregoing

6 TTOur's of the 11th Instant acquaints ine, that you have perused the King of France's Ordinance of the 18th of September last (N. S.) forbidding the Subjects of France, who are now Coneveris, to pass into foreign Countries, and the "Refugees to came into Frauce, without his Rermission. But because the Penalties to be inflicted on the Delinquents, are not clearly express'd therein, and are relative to former Declarations, you defire " me to inform you in that Matter. order therefore to gratify your Curiofity, I fend you herewith, in the first Place, the Substance of that King's Declaration of the 7th of May, 1686, to which all others relate, and is as follows:

For these Causes &c. We will and ordain, that our Subjects, New Catholicks, who finall be apprehended going out of the King-dom without Permission, be condemned, viz. The Men to the Galleys for Life, and the Women to have sheir Heads shaved, and be Recluse during the Remainder of their Days, in such Places as shall be appointed by our Judges, their Goods and Estates forfeited and confiscated to our Profit, even in fuch Places, where, according to Law and Custom,

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Custom, Confiscation takes not Place, from which we have derogated and derogate. It is likewise our Will and Pleasure, that such as either directly or indirectly shall have contributed to the Evasion of our said Subjects, whether of such as are still engaged in the Pretended Reformed Religion, or such as are New Catholicks, suffer the like Punishments. Wherefore we command, &c.

Many had flatter'd themselves, that in Consideration of the Interpolition of the Projestant' Powers, particularly of Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, the Severities exercis'd in France upon the Reformed of that Kingdom, would either entirely cease, or at least considerably abate, upon the Conclusion of the Peace; But, it seems, fuch as entertain'd these fond Hopes, were little acquainted either with the Spirit and Principles of the Gesuits, or the Influence and Power they have at: the Court of France; who, instead of shewing any Lenity to the French Protestants, have, by the Or-dinance before mention'd, open'd a Wide Door to a New Inquisition, and let loose the furious Monster of Persecution upon them. This cannot but raise dreadful Alarms in the Minds of all those they call New-Converts; since it throws them upon a fatal Alternative, either to disobey Gop, or the King, who arrogates to himself the Prerogative of the Deity, which alone has an Absolute Right over Men's Minds: For if any of the French King's Subjects endeavour, by Flight, to shun what they look upon as Idolatry, in order to ferve God according to the Dictates of their Consciences, this is call'd and deem'd a Criminal Disobedience to His Majesty's Orders, and the most rigorous Punishments are inflicted upon them, as if they were downright Rebels.

4 You know, Sir, that Monarch has many Years fince pursued Cardinal Richelieu's Scheme of Extirpating what the Papifts call the Northern Herely: But as on the one Hand he has thought himself bound in Honour and Conscience to oblige his Protefrant Subjects to embrace his own Religion, so, on the other Hand, he thought it inconfiftent with his Interest, and good Policy, to suffer them to go out of his Kingdom: But hitherto he has been difexpointed in both those Designs. The first has only made either Hypocrites or Martyrs; for there have been but a Few that could fincerely take up with the Absurdities and Superstitions of the Romish 'Church. Indeed, most of them, to avoid the Cruelties of the Booted Missionaries, have been forced to fwallow down Wafers, but they cannot yet digest the Tenet of Transubstantiation: Which manifestly appears from the very Words of the Ordinance in Question, which suggests, That they are not yet difabused of the Errers of the Pretended Reformed Relie gion, and forbids the Refugees to return into France, · lest they should foment and corroborate the bad Dispo-Gitions of Mind of their Relations and Friends, and even incite them to repals with them into foreign Countries. 'Tis likewise to prevent their Desertion, that the same Ordinance forbids them to pass by Sea from one Province to another, without the King's Permission: Which is certainly a very great Hardship upon New Converts of Eight and Twenty Years Standing; and shews, at least, that the Papists themselves very much doubt the Sincerity of their · Pretended Conversion.

Nor had the French King better Success in his Design to prevent his Protestant Subjects going out of the Kingdom: For notwithstanding all his Care and Precaution, his rigorous Edicts, and the Vigilance of his Guards, above Two Hundred Thou-

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Vol. VI. ' fand of 'em have made their Escape, since the Repealing of the Edict of Number, in the Year 1685.

'Tis true, they who had the Misfortune to be apprehended, either on the Sea-Coasts, or on the Frontiers, have been treated with the utmost Barbarity. The French King has therefore Reason to say 'in this Ordinance, that his Edills were continually kept in Execution. There never was a greater Truth: For his Edicas are not only comminatory, but his Threats, at e least, are executed, Bona Fide, with the greatest Severity and Punctuality. Poor Sufferers on Board the Galleys, have a made a sad and tedious Experience of it. 'You know, Sir, our Most Excellent Queen has, in her Royal Goodness and Charity, been pleased to procure the Enlargement of One Hundred and Thirty Six of them, Bleven of whom deputed by the Reft, being lately come Oft. 18th. over, had, last of Sunday, the Honour of being presented to Her Majesty, in order to return their most humble and dutiful Acknowledgments for Her Majesty's Powerful Interpolition, and to implore the influence of the same, in Favour of One Hundred and Eighty Five more of their Pellow-Sufferers, who are still destain'd on Board the Galleys of France, on the same Account. It would be more difficult to tell the exact Number of those who expired there, for these 28 'Years past, under the Load of Chains, and the Severities of their unmerciful

Keepers; no more than of those that

died

died in Convents, loathfome Dungeons, and Prifons; or who have been hang'd, broke upon the Wheel; and whose Dead Bodies have been thrown to the Dogs; meerly for refusing to end their Lives with a Sacrilegious Communion: And all this by a Communal Execution of His Most Christian Majesty's Commands, and in Sight of all Europe & But, what's yet more strange and flagrant, at the very same Time that these horrible Barbarities were committed both against the Living and the Dead, the Popish Clergy, the Jesuits, and all the fulsom Panegyrists of the French King, had the Face to publish in Print, That no Violence was used; that the Conversions of the Processants were voluntary; and that the King brought Strayed Sheep into the Pale of the Church, through a Way strew'd with Flowers.

'Tis most certain, that the Desertion occasion'd by this cruel and unparallel'd Persecution, brought France very near Ruin, both by the Diminution of her People, and Trade; the Exportation of vast Sums of Money, and (which is far more confiderable) of several Manufactures, into foreign Countries, and, lastly, by a great Number of brave Officers and Soldiers, who have faithfully ferved the Allies in the Two last Wars; and who, with them, have been very near returning into 'France Sword in Hand. Nor has France been unfensible of all these Losses: And 'tis well known, that their Wise and Sober Politicians have repented ' the having reduced so many Honest Men and Faithful Subjects to the Necessity of flying their Native 6 Country. But fince what's done cannot be undone, they think, it seems, it becomes the King's Greatness, to stand to it to the last, and not to ' abate of his Severity. If any of the Refugees, after the Miseries of a tedious Exile, have a Mind to Q q

return to France, they must abjure the Religion for which they have suffer'd so much, and profess sincerely and bona Fide the Romiss. 'Tis only on these Terms, that the King gives them Hopes of his Clemency and Goodness towards them. I say Hopes, for he makes no positive Promise, and His Majesty reserves to himself the Exerting those Royal Vertues, if he thinks sit.

Besides, how can the French Court ever be convinc'd and persuaded of the Sincerity of their Conversion, who, on a sudden, abjure the Religion wherein they have been confirm'd and corroborated by the daily Sermons of their Ministers in Protestant Countries, if New Converts of Twenty Eight Years Standing, and who remain in France without Teachers and Spiritual Guides, are not yet disabused of the Errors of the Pretended Reformed Re-· ligion; to use the Expression of the Ordinance? And therefore as foon as their Sincerity comes to be call'd in Question, they are liable to be sentenc'd to the Galleys! But supposing some Persons should be so void of Sense as to venture upon returning into Fance, will any Captains and Masters of Ships run the same Hazard, and meddle with such Contraband Goods, when by this very Ordinance the fame Punishment, viz. The being fent to the Galleys for Life, is awarded against all Captains, Masters, and Commanders of Ships, either French or Foreigners, of what Nation foever, who shall be either so unfortunate or unwary, as to receive on Board their Ships, either a New Convert or a Refugee; and even the Pain of Death on the Pilots. Was there ever a higher Strain of Severity?

But what appears more strange, and unaccountable, is, that the French King shews so little Regard to his Neighbours, with whom he's scarcely yet well reconciled; and reassumes so soon his Pristine

Airs of Superiority and Dominion Paramounts in imposing Laws and Punishments on all Europe 3. Whereby he arrogates to himself the Prerogative and Right of Universal Monarchy, which he has not yet attain'd; nor do I believe that the Treaty of Utreche abrogates and cancels the Law of Nations. That Prince is, indeed, left at Liberty still to persecute his own Subjects, but not to extend his Persecution to the Subjects of his Neighbours, and condemn them to the Galleys. Tis to be hoped the Maritime Powers, will duely weigh this Part of the Ordinance, in which the Honour of their Sovereignty, the Safety of their Subjects, and the Freedom of Trade, are so nearly concern'd.

Since the French King keeps no better Measures with his Neighbours, and thus pronounces their Subjects Doom, it no Wonder he shews no manner of Regard to the NATURALIZATIONS which the Protestant Powers have so generously granted to the Distressed Resugees; and still pretends to sub-

But under what Pretence, and for how many Generations, must this Rigour reach Children Born Out Of His Kingdom, whom he adjudges to be Galley Slaves, as well as their Parents, if they presume to set Foot on French Ground? This is not only repugnant to Natural Equity, but directly opposite to the Law Of Nations: For as Subjetion follows Birth, and as a Man naturally becomes the Subject of the Prince or State, in whose Dominions he first drew Breath, so on the other Hand, he has an innate Right and Claim to that Prince's or State's Protection, and jught naturally to enjoy all the Privileges and Immunities his Fellow Subjects enjoy.

All Civilians and Lamyers agree, First, That no Natural-horn Subject can put himself out of the Condi-

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Vol VI 'tion of a Subjett, or diffelve these Obligactions of Duty and Obedience, which come mence together with his Life; Secondly, That no Man owes Allegiance to Two Sove-

reigns. To this purpose we may obferve, that, when Dr. Story, upon an 'Indicament of High-Treason in Q Eliza-

An, 157 t.

* See Cam. 'beth's Reign, pleaded * That the Judges den's Annals, had no Power over him; for that he of Q. Eliza. was a Sworn Subject to the King of Spain, be was condemned according to the ordinary

Form of Nihil dicit; because no Man can 6 shake off his Country, WHEREIN HE WAS BORN; nor abjure his Native Soil or

Prince at Pleasure; and so he suffer'd as a

Traytor. Now if (as it was rightly ad-'judg'd in this Cafe) no Man can shake off

his Country, or his Obedience to the Prince.

in whose Dominions he was born; so, by a Parity of Reason, he ought to enjoy all

the Rights and Privileges of a Natural-

born Subject, which is the Case of the 6 Children of the Refugees, born in Great

Britain, and other Countries.

To illustrate this by a Parallel Inftance, There are in France a new Gene-*ration of English and Irish, whose Fathers
follow'd the Fortune of the Abdicated Monarch, and who being born there, are truly French, and reputed such to all Intents and Purposes. Now, I presume, they may freely and fecurely pass, repais, and trade in all Neighbouring

States, without either Pasports, Abjuring their Religion, or Incurring the Penalty of the Galleys: Why then should not the

'Children of the French Refugees, born in

the Countries where they have taken Sanctuary,

Sanctuary, and therefore Natural Sub- Vol. VI. e jects of other Princes, reciprocally eno joy the same Liberty in France? Their Case is the same with that of the English and Irilb before mention'd; and they have this further Advantage, that their Paerents cannot be charged with Rebellion. The Restraint put by this Ordinance upon a confiderable Part of Her Majesty's · Natural-Born Subjects, is so notorious an Invalion of the Sovereignty and Independency of the Crown of Great Britain; and if not removed, may prove so highly detrimental to the British Trade, that "itis to be presumed the Representatives of the Nation in Parliament assembled, will take the same into their serious Considetion.

⁶ The Ordinance in Question would bear many other Remarks and Observations: But as tis unpleasant to write long on fo melancholy a Subject, I fear the Reading of a tedious Letter, may prove ono less ungrateful to you. Wherefore. I shall abruptly end it, with assuring you, that Lam with the utmost Sincerity and Respect, Sir, Your, &c.

D. C. P. G.

To this Purpose we may take notice of a late Passage, which evidently shews the Passage about Inveteracy and Rancour of the Jesuitical Monsieur La Spirit, that now prevails at the Court of Roche, who France, against all the Protestants of that mitted to go Kingdom, whether Refugees, or no. Mon- to Montpelficur La Roche, Gentleman Harbinger to lier. the Queen, and an Old Servant to the

Remarkable

Vol. VI. Late Prince George of Denmark, who by his Assiduity, Diligence, and Fidelity, had the Happiness of being very acceptable both to His Royal Highness and Her Majesty; being advised to go to Montpelier for the Recovery of his Health, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to grant him a Pass for himself, his Wife, and one of his Relations, a Native of England. Besides this Pass, which was in Latin, and in the amplest Form, he had a recommendatory Letter from the Lord Viscount Blingbroke to the Marquis de Torcy; and another from the Duke D'Aumont : But when he came to Fontainebleau, which was about the Latter End of September, O. S. tho' he was, at first very civilly receiv'd by the Marquis de Torcy who promised to endeavour to get him the King's Permission for his going to Montpelier: (Without which Monlieur La Roche could not be safe, by Reason of the Ordinance before mention'd) Yet when he waited a fecond Time on the Marquis de Torcy, he was told the King would not grant such a Permisfion, and he must return to England; which he did accordingly, about the Middle of Ottober. It is to be observ'd, that Mr. Prior was not wanting in speaking in Favour of Monsieur La Roche, and representing that his Case was different from theirs who fled from France, fince the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and that he was in England some Years before; but his Sollicitations proved ineffectual.

Before we leave this Subject, we must take Notice, that the Marquis de Rochegude having sent to the Duke D'Aumone, Embassador Extraordinary from France, a Letter from the French Protestant Confessor on Board the Galleys, lately released by Her Majesty's Interposition, whereby they return'd His Excellency their most humble Acknowledgments, for his good Offices, and begg'd the Continuance of the same, in Favour of their Fellow-Sufferers, that still continue in Chains on Board the Galleys: The Duke D'Aumont wrote the following Letter to the Marquis.

SIR,

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N m'a remis de votre Part, Monsieur, la Lettre que les Religionaires Francois, qui ont eté tirez des Galeres, au Nombre de 184, m'ont écrite du 28 Juillet. J'y ay veu, avec beaucoup de Satisfaction, que le Respect seul les a empêchez de temoigner à la Personne Sacreé du Roy, la profonde Reconnoissance avec laquelle ils ont recu la Grace qu'il lui a plu leur accorder, a la Priere de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne:

HE Letter which the Fr. Protestants, enlarg'd from the Galleys,
to the Number of * 184,
have written to me, dated
the 28th of July, was deliver'd into my Hands from
you. I have seen thereby, with a great deal of
Satisfaction, that 'tis only out of awful Respect,
that they have forborn to
express to the King's Sacred Person, their pro-

' found Gratitude for the

Favour he has been plea-

6 fed to grant them, at the

Sollicit ations

[†] Ike Duke D'Aumont's Lesser so the Marquis de Ruchegude.

† Here's a Mistake as to the Number of the Protestants released from the Galleys, which amount only to 136, as the Reader will see in the next Lesser.

Sollicitations pressantes ne pouvoient manquer d'agir efficacement sur l'Esprit du Roy, tant par le Devoument de Sa Majesté, à tout ce que cette Princesse peut desirer, que par sa Clemence naturelle pour tom ceux qui ent eu l'Honneur d'etre nez ses Sujets. C'est cette meme Vertu qui 4 quelque fois determiné la Riqueur de ses Ordonnances, dans la Vene de tenir tous ceux de voire Communion dans une Obeissance salutaire, par l'Exemple du Chatiment du quelques Particuliers, convaincus par eux mêmes que leur Punition a bien muins été l'Effet de leur Attachement à leur Religion, que de leur Contrevention aux Arrêts de ser Conseil. Nous avens veu, avec une extreme Doulaur, l'Egarement prevaloir sur la Verité, dans l'Esprit meme de ceux qui possedoient d'ailleurs des Qualitez estimables, dont ils ont fait Ujage contre l'Intérêt de leur Patrie dans les COURS, & dans les ARMEES Etrangeres, où ils ont été chercher des Trifles Avantages, & un

Request of the Queen of Great Britain. Her pres-' fing Sollicitations could onot fail being effectual with the King, both by Reason of His Majefly's Devotion to whatever that Princess may defire, and from his in-' nate Clemency towards 'all such as had the Hoonour to be born his Sub-'iects. 'Tis that very same Virtue which has fometimes determin'd the Rigow of bis Ordinances, in order to keep all those of ' your Communion within falutary Obedience, by the Terror of the Punishment inflicted on some Persons, who , private could not but be convinc'd by their own Experience that their Punishment was not fo much the Effect of their Adherence to their Religion, as of their contravening the Arrèts (or Decrees) of his Council. We have ' seen, with extreme Grief, prevail 'Error 'Truth, in even · Minds of those who otherendow'd wise were who effimable Qualities, Repos

Repos auguel ils ne Sont jamau parvenus. Mais nous avons encore observé, avec plus d'Indignation, le grand Nombre de ceux qui se Sont détachez, de tous Principes, & de toutes Cansiderations respectables; qui ont renferme toute leur Religion dans la Haine de la Personne Sacrée du Roy; dans l'Aversion de leurs Compatriotes; dans les Desirs violens des Disgraces de la France; dans l'Amertume & dans la Consternation où les jettoit le Retour des Evenemens favorables; &, enfin, dans l'Animosité des Partis: Esprits, plus dangereux, dans un Etat, que les Ennemis mêmes de l'Etat. Ce sont eux qui. ont porté Sa Ma-. jeste à retenir long Tems la Grace qu'elle vient d'accorder à ces Galeriens, & c'est aussi contr' eux qu'ils doivent tourner toutes leurs Representations. Je continueray, avec Plaisir, les miennes, pour leur procurer

have made use of them against the Interest of their own Country, both in FO-RÉIGN COURTS ARMIES (b) whither they went to feek Melancholy Advantages, and a Repose they could never attain. 'But we have still observ'd, .. with greater Indignation, the great Number of fuch as have departed from all respectable Principles and Confiderations; who have confined all their Religion within the Hatred of the King's Sacred Perfon, their Aversion for their Countrymen, their viglent " Desires of the Disgraces of France, their Bitterness and Consternation upon the Return of Favourable Events; and, in short, within the Animosities of Parties: Spirits more dangerous in State, than even its declared These have a Eremies. clong while with held His Majesty's Hand from ditpenfing the Favour he has' 'lately granted to these la·

⁽b) Here's a Noble and Authentick Testimony (the least to be suspected as it comes from an Ambassidor of France) of the Assection, Zeal, and Fidelity, with which the Resugres have served the dilies.

314 Ine POLITICA
Satufaction qu'ils descrent,
et qu'ils me demandent dans
lour Lettre, avec des Sentimens dont j'ay eté touché,
& qui servient dignes de la
Veritable Religion. Je suis
plus parfaitement que Personne du Monde, Monsieu, votre très humble &
très obeissant Serviteur,

Le Due d'AUMONT.

Sufferers on Board the Galleys; and tis therefore against them they ought to level all their Representations I shall with Pleasure continue mine, to procure them the Satisfaction they defire, and beg of me in their Letter, with Semiments that have affected me, and which worthy of the TRUE RE-I am more per-LIGION. feelly than any Body in Tour the World, Sir, most humble and most obedient Servant, The Duke D'AUMONT.

Oct. 22.

To this Letter the Marquis de Rochegude return'd the following Answer:

Monsieur,

JE recois, avec le Refpett que je dois, la Lettre que vous m'avez fait l'Honneur de m'ecrire. My Lord, *

Receiv'd with the Respect becomes me, the Letter you did me the Honour to write to me,

† The Marquis de Rochegude's Answer, dated Oct. 28th.

* The French says only Monsseur, that is, SIR, but the Appellation of MI LORD is always given in English to Embassadors.

au Sujet de celle que 136 Confesseurs sortant des Galeres, avoient pris la Liberté de se donner l'Honneur de vous ecrire, pour remercier, avec les plus profonds Respects. Sa Majesté, en la Personne de son Ambassadeur, de la Grace qu'elle vient de leur accorder, par 'l'Intercession puissante de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne. Comme aufi, Monfieur, four vous temoigner leur trés resre Tueuse Reconnoissance des bons Offices que vous leur an ez si genereusen. ent rendus. Ils servient indignes de tant de Graces, s'ils avoient à se reprocher, au Milseu même des Souffrances, ces Murmures, ces Animositez, ces violens Desirs des Disgraces de la France, qu'ils condamnent dans ceux là qui font Prefession avec eux meme Religion Pajouteray que tout ce qu'il y a d'honnetes Gens, & de Gens de Bien parmi les Refugiez, ne les condamnent pas moins: Ils ont appris, les uns & les autres, à souffrir en Patience; à s'humilier à baise la Main qui les

in relation to that which 136 Confessors coming from the Galleys, had taken Liberty to give themfelves the Honour to write to you, in order to return Thanks, with the most hrofound Respect, to His Majesty, in the Person of his Embassador, for the Favour he has lately granted them, through the Powerful Intercession of the Queen of Great Britain. As also, My. Lord, to express. their most respectful 'Thankfulness to you, for the Good Offices you have 's fo generously done them. 'They would be unworthy of fo many Favours, should they be guilty, even in the Midst of Sufferings, of those Murmurings, Animosities, and violent Desires of the Difgraces of France, which they condemn in fuch as profess the same Religion with them. I shall add, that all Men of Probity and Honour among the Refugees, do not condemn them less: They have, both the one and the other, learnt how to fuffrappe ; Rr 2

frappe; à reconnoitre, en fin, que ce n'est pas le Roy qui les envoye aux Galeres, en Prison, & en Exil; ils ne s'en prennent qu'à eux mêmes; Israel a peché; voila l'unique Source des Malheurs de tous les Refugiez; mais tous ne remontent pas à la Source. On s'arrête aux Causes secondes & c'est ce qui les fait murmurer, & se jetter dans des Nuditez plaintives, qui donneroient Lieu à de tristes Peintures; mais tirons le Rideau là dessus. Nous condamnons & desavonons ces Mouvemens violens, que la Violence de la Douleur arrache quelque fois : Je les plains de faire un si mauvais Usage des Epreuves que Dieu leur envoye, qui devroient etre pour eux un Sujet d'Humiliation & de Consolation, en pensant qu'ils étoient neantmoins fi elles au Roy: Plus fidelles encore, ' je l'ofe dire, & plus obeifsans que s'ils avoient obei en changeant, comme un infinité d'autres, avec des Sentimens partagez : Gens Jans Religion, indignes par Consequent de la Rien-

' fer with Patience; 'humble themselves; 'kiss the very Hand that strikes them; in short, to acknowledge, that 'tis not the King that fends them to the Galleys, into Prifon, or Exile. They only lay the Blame on themselves: Israel bas sinned: 'This is the only Sonrce of the Misfortunes of the Refugees; but all of them do not trace them up to their Source. Some stop at Second Causes; and tis this makes them murmur, and launch into unguarded Expostulations, ' which would afford melancholy Reflections; but let us draw a Veil over unbecon.ing Nudities. We blame 'and disapprove ' violent Eruptions, which the Violence of their Sufferings fometimes forces from them. 1 pity them for making so ill Use of the Tryals God Almighty is pleased to put them to, and which ought to be to them Matter both of Humiliation and Comfort; by reflecting that they were nevertheless Loyal venillance

n'est pas étonnant de voir " shew'd their Obedience in des Reformen aimer mieux 'changing, as Multitudes fouffrir les Galeres & les of others have done, fous des Apparences trome . Men without Religion, peuses, qui leur attirero ent . and consequently unworjeste. Ceux cy sont odieux . Royal Favour. After fo au Roy, à l'Etat, à many Examples of this tous les Gens d'Honneur; ' Nature, it is no Wonder passion, ne pouvant changer 'rather to suffer on Board leur Conscience; en cela e geons, than to turn their bles! Leurs Malheurs one, 'ful Appearances, which Sollicitée par sa Clemence . His Majesty's Indignation. Royale, & par les pressantes & Such Men are odious to Sollicitations de la Reine, a the King, the State, and bien voulu donner la Liberte à un Nombre considequ'ils ressent beaucoup mieux qu'ils ne sauroient exprimer, & qu'ils regardent comme un Gage de celle que Sa Majesté veut accorder à un reste de leurs Freres Compagnons de leurs · Prisons, & Convents: Ils ont d'autant plus de Sujet. de l'espe er que Sa Majefic,

veuillance Royalle do Sa, the King : More Loyal, Majestes Apres tant d'Ex- 'I dare say it, and more emples de cette Nature, il 'dutiful', than if they had Cachors, que de changer 's with Divided Sentiments. l'Indignation de Sa Mar, thy of His Majesty's les autres dignes de Com- to see Protestants chuse contre les Mouvemens de ' the Galleys, or in Dunplus malheureux que coupa- 'Religion under deceittouché le Roy: Sa Majesté 'would draw upon them to all Men of Honour; whereas the others are bles d'entr'eux; Grace Objects of Compassion, because they cannot change against the Di-'cates of their Consciences: Wherein they are more unfortunate than culpable. Their Misfortunes have touch'd the King: Travaux dans les Galeres, " His Majesty prompted by his Royal Clemency, and the QUEEN's preffing 'Sollicitations, was grala Roine, s'interesse charitablement pour eux. Ils savent aufi que vous voulez bien. Monsieur, dire un Mot en leur Faveur pour leur procurer toute la Satisfaction qu'ils desirent: Vous pouvez, Monsieur, heaucoup; on scait votre grand Credit à la Cour, par le Rang élevé que vous y tenez, & plus encore par la Confideparticuliore que Sa Majesté fait de vôtre Per-J'ay communiqué, Monsieur, la Lettre que vous m'avez.fait l'Honneur de m'ecrire aux Confesseurs say: Ils sont penetrez d'une vive & très restettueuse Reconnoisance. J'ay l'Honneur d'étre, avec un trés profond Respect, Monsieur, &c.

Londres, 25. O& 13/13.

ROCHEGUDE.

ciously pleased to set at Liberty a considerable Number of them; a Favour they gratefully acknowledge, far better than, they can express it; and which they look upon as an Earnest of that His Majesty is willing to grant to the Remainder of their Fellow-Sufferers in the Gallevs. Prifons, and Convents. have the more Reason to entertain thefe Hopes, in that Her MAJESTY, the Queen, is graciously pleas'd to have a CHARITABLE CON-CERN for them. They know 'likewise, MY LORD, that you are willing to fpeak in their Behalf, in Order to procure them the Satisfaction they desire; and 'tis in Your Grace's Power to do it effe-Every one knows ctually. your great Interest at Court. both by your high Station there; and yet more by the particular Confideration the King has for Your GRACE's Person. MY LORD, I have communicated the Letter you have honour'd me with, to the Confessors here, who are 'touch'd with a most lively and respectful Sense of Grati-I have the Honour to be, with most profound Respect, MY LORD, Go. ROCHEGUDE.

London, Oct. 251b.

On the 6th of October the Queen was Vol. VI pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood on the Marquis de Dresuay, Captain of a French Man of War, and Gentleman Dresnay of the Bedchamber to King Philip of Spain, Knighted. who came over with the Duke D'Aumont. Embassador Extraordinary from France.

About this Time, Charles, Marquis of the Marq. of Harwich, only Son to the Duke of Schon-Harwich berg, died of a Confumption, on the Road dies. from Chefter to London, coming from Iren land. A few Days after, the Queen was His Regiment pleased to bestow the Regiment of Horse sistement commanded by the Deceased Marquis, on Major General Sybourg.

On the 9th lt was made publick, that H. Worselev. Her Majesty had appointed Henry Worseley, Esq; Envoy Esq; to be her Envoy Extraordinary, to Extr. to Portugal.

the King of Portugal.

Four Days * before, Signior Grimani, Emballador from the Republick of Fenice, The Venetian had a Private Audience of Leave of Her Embast bas Majesty, who was pleased to confer the Audience of Honour of Knighthood upon him, as had Leave, and is been practifed by Her Majesty's Royal Knighted. Predecessors, to the Embassadors of that State.

On Sunday Morning, the 4th of Ottober, Sir Francis Child, a Rich Banker, Al-Child diesderman for the Ward of Farringdon (without) London.

About this Time Brigadier Sutton was de-Brig. Sutton clared Commander in Chief of Her Maje-Commander in Bruges.

iesty's Troops in Bruges.

On the 8th of October the following Six-16 Scotch teen Peers were elected at Edincurgh, to Peers chofen. represent the Nobility of Scotland in the enfuing Parliamena of Great Britain, viz.

The Earl of Marr.
The Earl of Eglington.
The Earl of Kinnoule.
The Earl of Laudown.
The Earl of Finlater and Seafield.
The Earl of Selkirk.
The Earl of Northesk.
The Earl of Dundonald.
The Earl of Dundonald.
The Earl of Prodalbing.
The Earl of Orkney.
The Earl of Roseberries.
The Earl of Roseberries.
The Earl of Kilyth.

The Lord Balmeringck.

The Five mark'd with * are New Peers, chosen in the Room of the Marquis of Annandale, the Earls of Hume, Limitingon, and Iley, and the Lord Blantyre, decealed.

Account of the On the 13th of October came on the London Ele-Election of Members of Parliament for the dion referr'd City of London, the Account of which restored the mest quiring more Room than can be spared in this Monthly Collection, shall be therefore referr'd to our next.

New Parlia- On the 1st of October the Queen in ment in Ire-Council order'd Writs to be issued out for land call'd. the Chusing of a New Parliament in Ire-land, to meet at Dublim on the 20th of Nov.

And on the 12th the Duke of Shrembury, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, set fet out from Windsor for his Country Seat, in order to proceed from thence to Chester, where His Grace arrived the 19th in the Asternoon.

He was faluted at his Entrance into the Vol. VI.

Town, by a Discharge of the Canon of the Castle. At the Gate he was met by the Shrewsbury's Mayor and Aldermen in their Formalities, Reception at and the Recorder made a Speech to com-Chester.

Pliment him in the Name of the City:

After which he went to the Town-house, where an Entertainment was prepared for him.

The next Morning, His Grace, with his Dutchess, proceeded on his Journey to Holy-Head, where he was detain'd by the contrary Winds till the 26th in the Afternoon, when he embark'd, and the next Day in the Afternoon safely landed at Ringsend near Dublin. He was saluted by He arrives at a Discharge of Canon that was placed Dublin.

there for that purpose, and received by there. four Lords of Her Majesty's Privy-Council, who were appointed by the Lords Justices to congratulate him on his safe Arrival. From Ringfend His Grace proceeded to the Castle, attended by Four Troops of the Militia, by the Sheriffs of the City, by a Guard of Colonel Bland's Regiment of Horse, and by a numerous Train of Coaches of the Nobility and Gentry. At his Entrance into the Town he was received by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their Formalities, and Mr. Forster, the City Recorder, complimented His Grace in the following Speech:

S.C.

May

Vol. VI.

May it please Your GRACE,

Ive Recorder's Specch to Hise

and Honour with the Governand Honour with the Government of a State or Kingdom, has been
ever look'd on as the most favourable Inflance that can be derived on a Nation
by their Monarch, and the most powerful Engagement to a grateful Acknowledgment from the Mouths and Hearts of
the People.

'Your Grace's Appearance among us in this Character, has made it our Cafe in a very particular manner, and lays us under the strictest Ties of Duty and Gratitude to acknowledge Her Majesty's Tenderness, in providing so effectually for the

Interest of this Kingdom, and in accomplishing, at this Juncture, the Desires of all who endeavour to unite and strengthen

the Protestant Interest thereof.

The Figure your Noble Ancestors make in almost every Period of the English History since the Norman Conquest, gives us a delightful Prospect of many Advantages, from the Government of so Noble a Descendant of that illustrious Line.

Line.
But because it is below the Dignity of
Great and Eminent Persons, to adorn
their Character only with the borrowed
Graces of their Ancestors, especially
while in their own Persons, all Worth
and Merit outshine the Glories of former
Ages; give us Leave to justify our high
Esteem for your Grace, on more particular
Accounts:

Accounts: Your early Appearance in Vol. VI. the late Glorious Revolution of 1688. the Share your Grace afterwards had in confirming that happy Settlement; the faithful Services you have perform'd to our Great Queen, not only in your Em- baffy abroad, but her Councils and great • Offices at Home: In all which you have flewn such a steady Loyalty to Her Mae jesty, so glorious a Regard for your Country, and so discerning a Judgment, as this Age must admire, and Posterity

gratefully acknowledge.

I am too sensible of the Difficulty of drawing the Character of Great and Eminent Persons without lessening their 'Worth, to engage further on this Sub-'ject. Give us Leave therefore to admire what we can't express; and to assure Your Grace of the Loyalty of this City to Her Majesty, their hearty Assection for the Constitution in Church and State, and Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover; and that this City will, by a cheerful Compliance with Your Grace's Commands, shew how much they desire the Prosperity of Your Grace's Administration, whose Regard for this Kingdom is already manifested, by Your Grace's Arrival here to administrate in Person the Publick Affairs of the Nation, almost as soon as we were assured of Your Grace's being placed in the Government over us.

The Streets through which His Grace pass'd were lin'd with the Regiments of the

vol. VI. the Army on Duty, together with the Militia. When he arrived at the Castle, the Guns were fired from thence. Grace went to the Council-Chamber, and was welcom'd at the Foot of the Stairs by four Lords of the Council, where he was immediately sworn, and then he was again saluted by a triple Discharge of the Artillery, and by a Volley of small Shot. The Evening concluded with Illuminations, Bonefires, Ringing of Bells, and all other Demonstrations of Joy.

Wardrobe. He was likewise Gentleman

Mr. Eyre On the 12th of October died Charles No. cholas Eyre, Esq; Cupbearer to the Late dies. Queen, of ever Bleffed Memory, and to our present Most Gracious Sovereign; one of Her Majesty's Most Hon. Privy-Chamber, and one of the Grooms of the Removing

> Waiter to His late Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark.

Mr. Benj. On the 14th a Patent pass'd the Great Tooke and J. Seal, constituting Mr. Benjamin Tooke and Barber male John Barber, the present Printers of the Printers to the London Gazette, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty; after the Expirasion. tion of the Patent, some Months before granted to Mr. John Baskett.

A few Days after, William Thomas, Esq; Mr. Thomas, Clerk of the Domestick Secretary to the Lord Treasu-Peticions. rer, was made Clerk of the Petitions in the Treasury, in the Room of William

Glandville, Esq;

About the same Time it was declared, Military Pre-that the Queen had been pleased to bestow ferments. the Regiment of Dragoons lately commanded by Sir Richard Temple, on Major General

General Evans; and the Regiment of Ma- Vol VI. jor General Sybourg (abovemention'd) on Colonel Corbet.

On the 18th of October, the Queen in The British Council at Windsor, Two Proclamations Parliament were signed, and order'd forthwith to be prorogued. published, the one for proroguing the Parlia-Proclamation ment of Great Britain from the 12th of No. for preventing vember to the 10th of December next ensuing: the Export of The other, for putting in Execution the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for the Preventing the Exportation of Wooll, Wooll-Fells, Woollen-Yarn, Mortlings, Shorlings, Wooll-Flocks, Fuller's Earth, and Fulling-Clay.

Two or Three Days before died John Mr. Wich Wich, Esq, Her Majesty's Envoy Extraor-dies. dinary to the Princes of Mecklenburg and Holstein, and the Hanse Towns of the Cir-

cle of Lower Saxony.

On the 19th John Stone, a Book-Binder, J. Stone was by a Messenger carried before one of bound over the Principal Secretaries of State, and sor priming a bound over to appear at the Queen's Bench, Seasonable the First Day of the next Term, for queries. printing and dispersing a Scandalous and Seditious Libel, intitled, Some Seasonable Queries relating to the Birth and Birth-Right of a certain Person: On which Mr. Steele, the ingenious Author of a Paper lately set up, call'd the English Man, had written very Seasonable Animadversions.

About the latter End of October the The E. of Earl of Dunmore was declared Colonel of Dunmore the Third Regiment of Foot-Guards, in Col. of the 3d the Room of the Marquis of Lothian; and Reg. of Foot Lieutenant Colonel Ligonier Governour of Col. Ligonier Fort St. Philip, in the 1sle of Minorca.

Gov. of Fort On St. Philip.

Vol. VI. On the 21st of Ottober, died the Lord Quarrenden, Eldest Son to the Earl of The Lord Qua Litchfield; as did the next Day Sir John rendon, and Cropley, who left an Estate of about 4000 l. Sir J. Crop per Ann. to ---- Mickelthwait, Ela; lcy die. Treasurer of the Transports.

On Saurday the 24th of Offober, in the The E. of Evening, the Earl of Strafford, one of Her vives in En. Majesty's Embassadors Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary at Verecht, landed gland. Greenwich, from Holland; having, some Days before, inherited of about 40 or 50000 l. by the Death of the Lady Royflon, Grand-Mother to his Countess. On the 26th His Excellency waited on

the Queen at Windsor, and was very gra-

ciously received.

FINIS.

DKERTISEMENT.

N Exact and Compleat Double Lift of Both Houses of the Last and Present Parliament. Where, at one View, may be feen the feveral Alterations; and who voted for and against the Bill of Commerce, &c. Sold by John Baken at the Black Box in Paten-Noster-Row. Price 3 d.

POLITICAL

GREAT BRITAIN,

With the

Most Material Occurrences in Europe. For the Month of Noyember, 1713. Containing in Particular,

I. Some seasonable Remarks on the Examiner, with Two Letters concerning him.

II. A Burlesque in Imitation of the Seventh Epiftle of the First Book of Horace; cum Notic.

III. The Affairs of Ireland, and Proceedings of the Parliament

there.

IV. A fhort Account of the Casalans.

V. Account of the City Election.

VI. A Lener about Dunkirk.

VII. REMARKABLES in Great-Britain during this Month, as Deaths of Eminent Men, Preserments, &c.



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THE

POLITICAL STATE

FOR

The Month of November, 1713.

London, Nov. 30. 1713.

SIR,

Ecce

Vol. VI.

Crispinus minimo me provocat.

Thought longago to have done with Crispin the Examiner, at least till such time as I should be so happy as to be better acquainted with his Person:

But Crispin will provoke me, and Crispin

must take what follows. In his Paper of the 13th of this Month, he is pleased to involve me in a Quarrel he has with Mr. St—e, and under the Name of the Celebrated Author of the Political State, he places me in the Front of Mr. St——'s Advocates. I am obliged to Crispin for the honourable Post he assigns me; but as Mr. Tt

feqq.

495, 496.

Vol. VI. Sime wants no Seconds, Crispin had done wifely not to bring fresh Enemies upon his Hands, and to have better attended the Precept contain'd in the Motto of his Paper, now in Question:

> Quid IMMERENTES HOSPITES VEXAS, Canis Innever adversum Luges? Quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis Minas, Et me remorsurum petis?

The Truth is, Crispin, the Examiner, me fait une Querelle d'Allemand; or in plain English, picks a preposterous Quarrel with me; for in the Course of these journals I never mention'd Mr. St—e till of late, upon Occasion of his Guardian relating to Dunkirk, and his subsequent Pamphlet on the same Subject, of which I both took Notice historically, and gave large Abstracts, as I did of other Papers and Pamphlets, Written on the contrary Side, particularly by the Examiner. Now, befides my Candor and Impartiality on this Occasion, I dare appeal to my Readers whether I have omitted any fair Opportunity of mentioning the Examiner & Did not I early take Notice of his Villaineis Aspersions on the most Excellent Men, and most Respectable * See the 1st Characters in this Nation, in my Monthly * Volume of the Collections? Did not my Publisher take him Pol. State, p. to Task, in a Preface prefix'd to the Month, 315, 316, & of May, 1711. and blazon out his Coat in its proper Colours ? Did not I, some Time + Ubi sup. p. + after, record his injurious Restections on the Majority of the Present Bishops, as the? they were asting a RELIGIOUS FARCE, call'd

Gall'd A Convocation and NO-CONVOCA- Vol. VI. TION? Did I not afterwards (a) give the World a Sketch of his Character, and, (a) Pol. Stat. at the same Time, his Scheme of a PEACE? 219, 220, & Tis true, I publish'd likewise an Abstract segg. of a Pamphlet insitled, Reflettions upon the Examiner's Scandalous Prace: But if the Examiner would lay himself open to those Reflections, how could I help it? Did I not fairly relate his Animadversions on the Deep Band-Box-Plot, and his (b) FLA-(b) Pol. State GITIOUS RIBALDRY on the Duke of Vol. IV. pag. Malborough and the Late Lord Mohun, 374, & legg. upon Occasion of an Accidental Duel? Did I pass over in (c) Silence his feurrilons and (c) Pol. State inhumane Reflections on the Distressed 159, & segg. French Protestants on Board the Galleys, and in the Prisons of France? In short, what Author has, with greater Justice, been ofener celebrated by me, than the EXAMI-NER? Therefore if he be not assamed of what I have fairly quoted from him; (and it feems, he is ashamed of nothing,) he ought rather to place me amongst his Priends, than with his Enemies. And, indeed, I am so conscious that I have no Claim to the Title the Examiner is pleafed ironically to give me, of Celebrated Author, that I will readily acknowledge, that if any of these loofs, undigested Collections shall escape the Injury of Time, and Obl vion, it will be principally owing to the Uffal and Never-se-be-forgotten Abstracts of the IM-MORTAL Lucubrations of CRISPIN THE EXAMINER; to whom, upon that Score, I must own my self infinitely obliged. I would, before this Time, have Rr 2 endeavour'd

Vol. VI. endeavour'd to shew my Graticude, but that Crissin, cout of the Abundance of his Modeffy, is pleased still to conceal his Name: All the Service therefore I can do him, is to contribute all that lies in my Power to draw him from his Voluntary Obfeurity. In order to that I shall communicate to my Readers, the Two following Letters:

concerning the Author of the Examiner.

Two Letter A Letter from a Country Gentleman to his Friend in Town, concerning the Author of the Examiner.

SIR.

York, November 1. 1713.

Thank you for the last Parcel you ' fent me by the Carrier. I have read over all the Papers and Pamphlets about Dunkirk; and cannot guess what those Writers would be at, who are for preserving that Harbour contrary to the Treaty, and the express Declaration of the Queen to her Parliament. When I consider their Invectives against Mr. Steele upon this Occasion, you will forgive me, who am at Distance from all all Places of Intelligence, if I defire you to inform me, whether the Arguments they have made use of are not translated from French Papers; for I can never be-' lieve them to be the Original Invention of Englishmen. You cannot imagine how much this very Debate has put some of our Country Gentlemen upon looking about them; who before gave implicitely into every thing that was proposed by one Side: Nay, we have been told here, that a very great Man of the same Side was imprudent enough, in the Fulness of his Heart, to write a Pamphlet against Mr. Steele, and against the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk, If this be true, I wish some honest Gentleman would do Her Majesty the Justice to inform her of it in time. Our Peace with France is like to be a lasting one indeed, if we put it out of our Power, ever to enter again into a War. After I have shaken Hands with my Adversary, I must be a great Fool to cut off those Hands to convince him that my Reconciliation is sincere.

great Fool to cut off those Hands to convince him But my Intention of writing to you at present, is, to defire, that you would, in your next, give e me the best Information you can about the Author of the Examiner. There is an honest Tory Neighbour of mine, who will have him to be a French · Jefuit. For my Part, I shall not give my felf the Trouble of reading him any more; but I would be glad to know the Wretch, that, if ever he be reduced to skulk in these Parts, we may have him whipped out of the County. It is to me the most unaccountable Piece of Impudence and Folly, in , the Fellow, that he should pretend all along to write for the Ministry, and at the same time labour as much to lie concealed, as if he were fet on to affaffinate them. I wish I could be satisfied in this one Point, that either the great Ones in general, or any one of them in particular, did countenance that Libeller; and then I could answer for a Number of generous Men, who upon all Occasions would treat his Patron or Patrons, with all the Freedom of Contempt. Iam,

SIR,

Your most affestionate and most obedient, &c.

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A Letter from a Gentleman in Town, in Answer to his Friend in the Country, concerning the Author of the Examiner.

SIR,

London, Nov. 7: 1713.

Find you expect, I should be punctual in giving
'you the most satisfactory Answer I can to the
latter Part of your Letter. What I know of the
Matter I shall communicate to you without Referve; but before I come to the Point I must intreat your Patience a little, while I premise a few
things, that do, in some Measure, relate to your
present Inquiry.

It is now above five Years fince you left the Town; in which time, I must inform you, that the Number of Pamphlets and of flying Papers is become double to what it was, when you first betook your felf to your Retirement. Persons, of the first Rank and Quality, Ministers of State, Members of Parliament, Men of Wit and Pleafure, Clergymen from the highest to the lowest, Persons that dwell in Palaces and abound in Wealth, and Men that live in Garrets and starve over their Standishes, have taken up the fashionable Amusement of writing in Masquerade, and come in Crowds to the Press under borrowed Forms The Whigs often and personated Characters. write under the Disguise of Tories; and the Tories often appear in Print in the Likeness of, Whigs. I can assure you this fort of Business goes

on fo very briskly, that I fear even Quills, in a little time, will be a scarce Commodity; and that a a Flock of Geese will yield more, than a Flock of Sheep: And if it continues to hold out as long as our Peace, the Printers will all of them get Estates; and the Weavers in Spittlesselds have this Comfort at worst, that if they are obliged to quit their Looms, they may find Employment enough at the Press.

The great Body of these anonymous Authors e may be reduced into two Classes. The first, and the most numerous Band, are those whose Labours tend to the Corruption of our Morals, the Subversion of Religion, the enslaving of the Nation, the betraying of our Constitution, the ruining of our Trade, and the slandering of Men of Merit: 4 The Ringleaders of this Rout are, the Author of 4 the Christian Rights, the Author of the Tale of a Tub, the Author of the Conduct of the Allies, the Author of the Review and the Mercater, and the Author or 4 Authors of the Examiner. The second Class (whose Number is but small) confilts of such Writers as conceal their Names with an Intention to 6 do the more Good: Their Pens are employed in refining our Manners, in improving our Learning, in recommending Vertue and Religion, in defending our Liberties; in arguing for our Constitution in Church and State, in maintaining our Trade, and in doing Justice to Patriots and Men of Merit. The chief amongst this illustrious Set of Writers are, the Author or Authors of the Tatlors, the Spellators, and the Guardians; the Au-thor of the Maximis of Trade, and the Author of the British Merchant; to which I am in Hopes a 4 new Author will foon deferve to be added, who files himself the Englishman. · Having

224 Having given you this short Account of the prefent State of Literature in this City, I shall now apply my felf to the fatisfying of your Curiofity to the utmost of my Power, concerning the much celebrated and the unexampled Author of the Examiner. In order to this, 4 must in the first Place give you to understand, that the Generality of the hackney Writers of this Nation are very obnoxious to Whims and odd Fancies, and never can be brought to do one Line of Work, if they are not accommodated to their Humour in some Particulars. I have known feveral, who could never find themselves disposed to write out of a Garret or a. Prison; others there be, that hate Confinement, who love the open Air, and never have their Wits about them, but when covered with Trees, furrounded by Flowers, whiteled to by Birds, and refreshed by the Murmur of Waters; but these have usually no Hurt in them: Some are sick of Daylight and the Sun, and are never able to collect their Thoughts and put them upon Paper, but by Candle-light: A Pipe is necessary to many; and a Bottle of Wine, or a Pot of Ale, to others; and there are those, who can produce nothing without a Snuff-Box: Some write fitting, some standing, and some a-bed: Nay, I have read of a noble Author, whose Works went on best, when he was fast asleep. In a Word, sundry and divers and unaccountable are the Selfifinelles and the Singularities of most Book-Wrights.

I have thought it prudent, at least, for my own Sake, so prepare you by this short Preface for what, follows; left, if I had fallen immediately upon recounting to you the Extravagancies of the Examiner, you might have suspected me for an Inventor, rather than a Relater, of some Circum-Stances:

stances: For of all the Men, that ever set Pen to Paper, he is certainly the most fantastical and extraordinary in his Ways. He never could be prevailed upon to write a Week together in the fame Character, in the same Dress, nor in the same Lodgings. It is probable the Fool may have heard, that nothing recommends an Author like Variety; and fince he cannot attain to it in Wit ' and Stile, he is resolved to put it on in every ' thing else. One Day the Whim will take him to write in the Person of a Footman, and then he calls for his blue Livery embroidered with Silver; this is what he appears oftenest in when he goes ' into Coffee-houses and the Play-house. When he is tired of this Extream, he flies out into another quite opposite; he puts on a green Ribbon, and fancies himself a Lord; another while he calls for a light Wig and a Pair of fringed Gloves, and assumes the jaunty Air and Mein of Cato Junior; very often he puts on a Gown and Cassock, and flaunts it in the Court of Requests, and goes about to great Men's Tables; and fometimes nothing will serve this Extravagant, but he must be ' dressed up like a poor Whore, in Petticoats and tawdry Ribbons. But what is furprizing in thefe 'Vagaries of the Examiner is, that these various ' Dresses strike his Imagination so strongly, that they influence his Brain, and give a different Turn to his Manner of Thinking: For it has been obferved by Men acquainted with his Freaks, that he is never fo learned and fo witty as when he wears his Cassock; never so arrogant and so pedantick as in his Livery; nor at any time fo igon norant and so dull, as when he puts on his green 'Ribbon; and never so scurrilous, so abandoned, 4 and so impudent, as in Petticoats.

Uu

· This

' This Author, you will say, is an Original at 'least; and you will be impatient now, from the Oddness of the Man, to know his Name, and the 4 Place of his Abode. As to the former, I am told, 4 that when he first appeared in the World, he was contented to go by the single Name of Jonathan; but in Process of Time, as he grew more voluminous, he would pick up a new Name from 'Day to Day, and add it to his own; and it is said, his Design is to go on in this Method, till he draws out his Name into too great a Length for himfelf, or any Body else, to remember: And the Reason given for this Contrivance of his is, that he begins, at last, to be ashamed of his Name. But at present his Name runs thus, after the Stile of Wales, Jonathan ap Harry, ap Charles, ap William, 4 ap Betty. His Place of Abode is very uncertain, and depends much upon Caprice, as I hinted before: So that, should you ask me where the Exae miner lives, the most determinate Answer I, or any one else could give, would be, That he lives up and down, here and there, every where; that is, according to the School-Logick, no where. ' may, for ought I know, appear under a greater Variety of Apparel, and have two or three Names more, which he has not yet thought fit to discover: But, for as much as I have undertaken to inform you of, I can recommend it to you for Truth; having made it my Business to inquire very particularly into the dark Paths, the Byways, and secret Practices of this modest Person, who labours fo much to shun the Knowledge of Men, and is content to abide in Obscurity, both as to the present and as to future Ages.

Now, Sir, I come to the last and most material Part of your Inquiry, concerning the Patrons of this

this illustrious Libeller. And here though I should incur your Displeasure, I cannot forbear telling you, with some Warmth, that whoever informed you, that any of the prefent Ministry do give Countenance to the Wretch, must have done it more through Malice, than Ignorance. Can any Man of common Reason believe, the present Miinifters would fet any Scribler on to libel the Allies of their Queen, and to defame her General, when the glorious and lasting Peace, which has been so lately concluded, is in a great measure owing to the Firmness of the said Allies, and to the successful Conduct of the said General? Is it possible any Minister of the Queen's should spirit up the Examiner to write with all the Vehemence and Fury of Nonsense against the immediate Demolition of Dunkirk, in downright Contradiction to Her Majesty's Royal Declaration to her Parliament; which Parliament is in effect, the Nation? Is it probable, that any of the prefent Ministry, who are remarkable for their Encouragee ment of Learning and Ingenuity, and who have erected a Society for the Promotion even of Men of obscure Merit, should be pleased with the Examiner's Railing at Mr. Steele, whose Writings or Publications, by the general Confent of both Parties, have contributed more to the refining and amending of the Nation, than any Man's that ever went before him? If these things are not fufficient to vindicate the Honour of the Ministry in this Point; I shall give you one Argument more, which indeed is not so very obvious, but far more convincing (if possible) than any of the former. Has not the Examiner, from his very first setting out, made it his Business from day to day to inveigh bitterly against Fanaticks, Presbyterians, Nonconformists and Occasional Conformists ? Úu 2

Does this look like making Court to the Men in present Power? Were the twice noble Earl of M—— and O—— a Man of mean and obscure Birth, would it please him, do you think, to hear an awkward Flatterer perpetually crying out against Up starts? No, no, my Friend; depend upon it, the secret Design of the Examiner is, when he thinks he has cast a sufficient Odium upon such, as have the Missortune to dissent from the Church of England, to come upon some of our great Men with a Back-stroak, and rob them of the glorious Merit of Converts, by rendring them suspected to the Church Party.

' I find, it is an easy Matter to abuse a Country Gentleman, who has been sometime absent from the Town: The Account we have of this Fellow is so far different from that, which prevails in your County; that he is taken by unprejudic'd Persons for a Pensioner of the Pretender's; and it is more than probable, that he is prompted in most of his Papers by some of his Emissaries. 'This I can assure you upon my own Knowledge, that his Scriblings, are univerfally read, and applauded by the Nonjurors and Papists, that lurk about this Town. Besides what may be gathee red from his Admirers and the Drift of his Pen, there is one very remarkable Circumstance, which feems to put this Matter out of all doubt: And that is, the blue embroidered Livery, which I mentioned before. It is what he takes a Pride in wearing; Hundreds of People have feen him in it; and all Men own it to be the genteelest Livery, that ever Servant wore. This has made a great many very inquisitive about it; and it appears upon Examination, that the whole Fancy, and Cut, and Needlework of the Suit is truly

French, and that it was a Present made him by the Pretender, as an Earnest that he had taken him into his Service. So that Mr. Steele is intirely out in his Guess, when he takes the Examiner for the Servant of a certain noble Lord in England.

· Notwithstanding what has been said, and the 4 Pains I have taken to vindicate the Honour and Reputation of the great Men, who have been afperfed in your Parts; I must own, I think, they ought, in Justice to themselves, in Duty to the Queen, in Regard to their Country, in Favour of our Allies, and in Respect to the most eminent of our own Countrymen, to use their tutmost Endeavours to bring that Wretch to open Shame and Punishment, and in the mean time to shew some publick Marks of their Resentment against him. It is their Clemency and Forbearance in this Point fo long, which probably, has given Occasion to some unthinking Persons to suspect them for the Encouragers, pay the Patrons of this Wretch.

I am, Sir, &c.

Whether from these Two Letters, the Readers will be able to guess at the True Author of the Examiner, I know not: But it is not fereign to this Inquiry to take Notice of a Poem, a MASTER-PIECE in the BURLESQUE -Kind, which, about this Time, was publish'd, as follows:

Part





Part of the Seventh Epistle

OF THE

First BOOK of HORACE

IMITATED,

And address'd to a Noble Peer.

- Returning home one Day from Court,
- (His Mind with Publick Cares poffeft,
- 4 All Europe's Bus'ness in his Breast)
- Observ'd a Parson near Whitehall,
- Cheap'ning old Authors on a Stall.
- The Priest was pretty well in case,
- And shew'd some Humour in his Face;

Look'd

for November, 1713. Look'd with an easy careless Mien,	•	34 Vol. VI
A perfect Stranger to the Spleen;	10	<u> </u>
6 Of Size that might a Pulpit fill,	•	
But more inclining to fit still-		
MY LORD, who (if a Man may say't)		
Loves Mischief better than his Meat,		
Was now dispos'd to crack a Jest;	15	
And bid Friend Lewis go in quelt, }		
(This Lewis is a Cunning Shaver,	´ · •	
And very much in HARLET's Favour)		
'In quest, who might this Parson be,		. ,
What was his Name, of what Degree;	20	r
If possible, to learn his Story,	•	
And whether he were Whig or Tory?	•	•
Lewis his Patron's Humour knows;	•	
⁶ Away upon his Errand goes,		
And quickly did the Matter fift,	25	
Found out that it was Dr. S t:		

^{85.} Demetrî (puer bic non leve jussa Philippi Accipiebat) abi; quare, & refer, unde domo, quu, Cujus fortuna, quo sis Patre, quove Patrono?

^{25.} redis & narras, Vulteium nomine Menam,

But seldom rose above a Sheet:

Of late indeed the Paper-Stamp

Did very much his Genius cramp:

'And

^{21.} tenui censu, sine crimine norum, Et properare loco, & cessare, & quærere, & uti Gaudentem.

60

Xx

Where painted Monsters are hung out.

⁶He

47. Scitari libet ex iplo quacunq; refers: Dic
Ad canam veniat, Non fanè credere Mena:
Mirari secum tacitus: ________ 54. benignè
Respondet. 55. Negat ille mibi? 56. Negat improbus, et te
Negligit, aut borret.
________ 57. Vulteium mane Philippus
Vilia vendentem tunicato seruta popello
Occupat, & salvere jubet prior_______

vol. VI.	The POLITICAL STATE 4 He pull'd the String, and flopt his Coach,
	6 Beck'ning the Doctor to approach.
	'S, who pould neither Hy nor hide,
	'Came fineaking to the Charlot litle,
	"And offen'd many a fame Exemes
	He never meant the least Abuse
	My Lord The Etonom jon defign d
,	Extremely proud but I had dis'd
•	'I'm sure I never shou'd neglott
	'No Man alieve has more Respect 70
	Well, I shall think of that no more,
	^c If you'll be fare to come at Four.
	6 The Doctor now obeys the Summons,
. ,	Likes both his Company and Commons;

Displays his Talent, fits till Ten,

Next Day invited, comes again;

Excusare laborem.

71. Sic ignovisse putato

Me tibi, si cænas bodie mecum. Ut libet. Ergo
Post nonam venies.

74. Ut ventum ad cænam est; dicenda, tacenda locum,
Tandem dormitum dimittitur. Hêc ubl sæpe
Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad bamum
Mane cliens et jam certua conviva—

⁶ Soon

Vol. VI. for November, 1712. Soon grows Domestick, feldom fajla Either at Morning, of at Meals a state Came early, and departed late 2011 In fhort, the Gudgeon took the Beit to the Ro MY LORD wend carry on the Jeff, And down to Windfur takes his Guest. S-t much admires the Place and Air And longs to be a Capter there ? In Summer round the Park to ride. In Winter ---- never to relide A Canon! That's a Place too mean : 1.7 No, Doctor, you shall be a Deat's Two Dozen Consum round wine Stall. And you the Tyrant o'er them alk: You need but croisthe high Seas, To live in Plenty, Power and Lafe. Poor S-edeparts, and, what is worle, With borrow'd Money in his Purfe;

- 81. jubetur Rura suburbana indittis comes ire Latinis. Imposione mannis, arvum culuma; Sabinum Non cestat laudare. - 87. Vider, riderque Philippus,

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Vol. VI-

The POLITICAL STATE

Vol. VI.

'Or is your Money out at use?

- Truce, good MY LORD, I beg a Truce ! 130
- 'The Doctor in a Passion cry'd;
- ' Your Raillery is mifapply'd:
- 'I have Experience dearly bought,
- "You know I am not worth a Groat:
- But you refolv d to have your Jeft, 1 4 7 2135
- "And 'twas a Folly to contest:
- 'Then fince you now have done your worst,
- ' Pray, leave me where you found me first.

136. Quod te per Genium, dextramq, Deosq, Penases Observo & obsestor, vice me redde priori.



This

This Poem needs no Commentaries, no Vol. VI. Labours Variorum, to be understood; the Meaning is plain: The Nation's great Supphre- Loves Mischief better than his Meat: And being dispos'd to crack a Jest, fends for Dr. S-t, a Clergy-Man of special Note, for shunning those of his own Coat, in State Opinions alamode, who hated W-n like a Toad; and had libell'd all the Junto round: For which, and other fecret Service, he is made a DEAN in Ireland; but on pretence of great Charges in going to take Possession of his Preferment, over and above the Fatigue of the lourney, and Vocations of taking the Oaths, particularly of Abjuration! he puts up to his Patron a Petition in Burlesque. Now if the Author of this Piece should prove to be the principal Writer of the Examiner: (For who elfe should be so hardy as to dare to offer fuch Balderdash to a Prime Minister. who, in Dr. Swift's * Opinion, sweed the Nation) would any Man think either a Swift's Letter Deenry ill bestowed on my Friend Jonathan ? to the Earl of Or the foregoing Poem undeferving a Pre-Oxford. fent of One Thousand Gniness? Did ever Cardinal Richelieu, or any other celebrated Patron of Learning, better reward and encourage Ingenuity and Merit? TAN-TUM for CRISPIN the Examiner, till the nevt Provocation. Si tacuerit, silebo: Si malè dixerit, pejus andiet,

Let's pass on to the Affairs of Ireland, which, at this Juncture bespeak our Attention. We mention'd in our last of the elegant and fine Speech, with which Mr. Forster, Recorder of Dublin, compli-

+ Page 322.

mented

Vol. VI. mented the Duke of Shrewsbury's Arrival at Dublin. Upon the same Occasion, Marthen French, B. D. and Senior Fellow of Trinity College near Dublin, one of His Grace's Chaplains, made a Speech to His Mr. French's Grace in Latin, the Translation of which speech to the (by J. W. one of Mr. French's Pupils) de-Lord Lleuteserves to be preserved in this Collection; MANS. and is as follows:

Most Illustrious Sir, IF to receive a Lustre from a long Descent of most Noble Ancestors, may be accounted Honourable, if to be Eminent for Actions equally Good and Successful, be really Glorious, both these Advantages are a most just and sensible Recommendation of your Grace to the peculiar Esteem of all Degrees and Conditions of Men amongst us: insomuch that no Man can be so void of Sense, ' so destitute of Affection to the Interests of the 6 Church, the Kingdom, and the University, (all which are, and ought to be most dear to every e good Man) as amidst the common Expressions of universal foy throughout this whole City, and indeed the Kingdom, not to congratulate your Grace upon your much wished-for Arrival, with the most forward Inclinations, with the greatest Ardency of Desire imaginable; and withal, not to proclaim Ireland extremely Happy, in that our Gracious Queen, out of her great Wisdom and Goodness towards us, hath at this prefent Juncture appointed such and so great a Man to be Lord Lieutenant thereof.

Were it my Inclination on Design to recollect the Transactions of former Times, I might easily

fliew, that your Grace is descended from a Fa-' mily

mily which has by a happy kind of Fruitfulness produced many that were famous both in Peace. and War, at home and abroad ; and not only Ornaments, but also Supports of the English Nation. There is indeed one remarkable Instance, such as was never heard of in the Memory of Man, which ought not (I think) to be passed over in silence. The first Barl of Shrewsbury, after the many and great Services done by him in the Adminiftration of the Affairs of this Kingdom, of which he was chief Governor, after many Batties, which he bravely and victoriously fought against the French, after a Peace which proved most glorious both to himself and the Nation, which when Amballador he concluded with them; upon his Return after all this, he was a second time made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and had the Happi-ness of seeing his own Son, at the same time, Lord Chancellor thereof, These (as well as all other things observable in your Family) are great; ' yet I must beg Leave (most illustrious Sir) to say, that they cannot claim greater Commendation, than what you your felf, by your own Coinfel and Vertue have performed. You have advanced the Nobility of your Family, by having been created Duke of Shrepsbury; and (what gives an additional and more considerable Lustre to this Ho-nour) you were the first of all your Family that boldly embraced and publickly professed your self of the Protestant Religion. Nor was this done by your Grace at a time when things were in a fate of perfect Peace and Quietness, when the Prospect of Honours, Riches, and such like worldly Temptations might excite and encourage your Hopes, but in the worst and most dangerous 'Times, when alas! with Grief I speak it, the Reformed Religion was afflicted, troubled, and almost destroyed Υv

The POLITICAL STATE Vol. VI. destroyed. Now, to renounce the superstitious Errors of Popery, to embrace a contrary Religion, not without the hazard of your Life, and all that you had; I dare appeal to all that hear me, whether this be not a plain Evidence of an uncommon Greatness of Soul. To a Person who has been all along, and still continues to be, so true a Friend, so zealous a Defender of our Religion, what returns of Praise, what sufficient Expressions of our sincere Love and Assection shall we give? Certainly, every one that bath a due Love for the Church, (such as a Son hath for his Mother) must be throughly persuaded in his Mind, that under his Grace's Administration the Rights and Privileges of the Church, derived down to us from all Antiquity, are so far from being in any danger of a Change or Diminution, that there's all the Reason in the World to be-· lieve, that all honest Means will be used to defend and maintain the same.

'This likewise (most illustrious Sir) is a further Accession to your many and great Honours, that when our Constitution was in imminent Danger, and just upon the brink of Destruction, your Grace was a most considerable Instrument in beginning, a most faithful Companion in promoting, and a most resolute Assistant in essecting the late happy Revolution; the happy Means of restoring to the Kingdom its former flourishing Condition, to the People, their Lives, Safety, Liberties. Can any one fay, that there were in any Age better, braver, and more resolute Men, than in those most dangerous Times, when the Kingdom was almost de-* stroyed? Yet I must say, your Grace was the chief of all the Body of the Nobility, who used their " utmost Endeavours and Authority to preserve the State. Nor is it (methinks) unpleasant to re-' member

member with what Prudence, with what Vigour, in short, with how good Success, you accomplished so vast and noble an Undertaking. To lay down your honourable Preferments and Places of Trust. so mightily to incumber your Estate (which was before clear) to pursue a doubtful Fortune, to go to Holland, and there beg Succours for your distressed Country, and the Recovery of its dying Liberty, to encourage and affift both with your Advice and Money, the then Prince of Orange, to undertake the Defence of our most deplorable Cause; in'a Word, to procure so seafonable a Remedy for the fo dangerous State of Affairs: This truly is in you (most illustrious Sir) exceeding Glorious; but in your after Conduct and future Behaviour to preferve the Glory acquired by Actions, and bravely and resolutely to persist in your Love to the Interests of the Kingdom, in opposition to the enraged Minds and violent Endeavous of the most inveterate Enemies: This is your peculiar Excellency, herein consists the Perfection of your Glory. That Great, Good Prince (whose Memory, as long as Time it self, shall last) knew your Mind; was well acquainted with your steady Resolution always to defend whatever you were affur'd was justly undertaken: The firm Pelualion of which, together with the Consideration of those great Services done by you to the Publick, easily induced Him to confer upon you the greatest Honours. In a short space of time the most Glorious King William created You one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, Principal Secretary of State, Duke of Shrewsbury, likewise Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and three times fuccessively one of the Lords Justices of all England, to whom (in the King's Absence, the Administration of all Affairs, Y v 2 · s the

The Political State Vol. VI. the Safety of the People was committed; in the Discharge of which many and great Offices, and Places of Trust, your singular Prudence so eminently appeared on all particular Occasions, that I dare affirm there cannot easily be found one to capa-ble (as your Grace is) of giving proper Advice to others in the Multiplicity of Affairs, the diverfity of Men's Inclinations, and the most difficult Circumstances of the Publick. Sure I am, none, will be able to advise you better than your self. You will never miscarry, if you do but consult your felf, and hearken to your own Advice. For who is wifer than he, who, when in the best of Governments he had acquired a glorious Charader for all his Services, could so conduct himself, as to be in the midst of Business without Danger. and in Retirement from Buliness with Honour. ' To this your fingular Prudence (most Illustrious Sir) I might add many other Virtues, such as your Fidelity, Fortitude, Temperance, Munificence,

' Veracity, and Sincerity, the Politeness of your Manners, with an awful, but inoffensive Gravity in your Words, Actions, and whole Behaviour; the Quickness of your Understanding, in immediately discovering the Tempers, and nicely discerning the secret Inclinations of Men; a happy Effect this of Nature, improved by long Experience. These several Qualifications have procured to you the greatest Reputation and Authority amongst all Degrees and Conditions of Men, and indeed, derived a Lustre upon Authority it self. Who does not think that an Ambassador ought to be posses'd of all these shining Virtues in Conjunction? And who can deny, that they are all in you? Especially when our Queen, in Her great Wisdom, did some time since chuse you to bear the honourable Character and Station of Her Am-6 baffador

Vol. VI. for November, 1713. bassador (in the Discharge of which you have fulity answered the Reputation of your own Prudence, the importance of fo great an Affair, and the Expediation of all good Men:) Our Queen (I say) whose Royal Bounty, unusual, and unheard of Liberality, has greatly enriched the Church with the Addition of large Revenues; whose supreme Power fettled upon the same Bottom with our very Constitution, protects it; and whose exem-plary Piety adorns it; whose Mind is daily taken up with the Care and Thoughts of preserving the People committed to Her Charge, in perpetual Peace, Quietness and Tranquility (Things most acceptable to our Wifnes and Desires;) which that she may do to an extreme Old Age, is the most earnest Request and servent Prayer of us all. But because Nature as it hath set Bounds and Meafures to other things, fo likewise to Life, when She hath had a full Enjoyment, not only of all that is desirable of Life, but almost all that is tolerable; when she hath lived long enough for Her own Glory, and for the Benefit and Advantage of the Publick, I hope none will be found fo ignorant, so wholly infensible both of their own private and the common Safety, as not to be thorowly convinced and fully perfuaded, that the Succession of the Crown, most deservedly, as well es prudently established by Law, in the Illustrious House of Hanover, is the best Security of our Lives, Safety, Estates, Liberties, and (which is most of all to be consider'd) our Religion, in Defence of which every good Man would be contented

to die.

The

Vol. VI: The Duke of Shrewsbury, on his Part, the Duke of ons, to make good the Hopes and Ex-Shrewsbury ons, to make good the Hopes and Ex-declares bim- pectations of the Well-affected to the Refelt for theRe- volution, and the Protestant Succession in volution and the House of Hanover: But in a parti-Hanover Suc- cular Manner, on King William's Birthcession. Day, when his Grace declared, He was ftill the same, be was in the Year 1688, and publickly drank the Pions and Glorious Memory of King William. The same Evening his Dutchess gave a magnificent Ball, on Occasion of the Solemnity of the Day. which was celebrated with extraordinary Rejoycings.

Elections of Parliament.

All this while the Elections for Parliament-Men were carried on with great. Application, Industry, and Contention, by the Two Opposite Parties, of Tories and Whigs: Tho' with visible Advantage on the side of the latter, notwithstanding the Countenance their Antagonists receiv'd from some Persons in eminent Greatstruggle Posts. The greatest Struggle was in the, City of Dublin, where Sir William Fownes

and Riot at

Dublin Nov. and Mr. Tucker, were fet up by the Tories; and Mr. Recorder Forfer, and Mr. Burton, stood Candidates for the Whies. The Poll began on the 6th of November: And the Sheriffs perceiving that the Electors were going into a Riot fent to the Guard for a File of Musqueteers. to prevent it, upon which a Tumult, arose, of which the Sheriffs caus'd the

Account of it. following Account to be publish'd.

A

A true Account of the Rist committed at the Thalfel on Friday the 6th of November, 1713.

THE Sheriffs of the City of Dublin on granting a Poll last Tuesday, published a Paper 4 wherein they proposed, that to avoid Tumults and to fave the Attendance and Time of the Ble-* Ctors, they intended to begin with the Eldest Cor-* poration, and so on in their Order.

That every Day after Twelve a Clock, they would take the Votes of fuch Freeholders as should e present themselves on either Side. 1

Pursuant to the Method proposed by the Sheriffs the Recorder, and Alderman Birein, acquainted their Friends that none of them but such as were of the Guild of Merchants, the Corporation of Taylors and Freeholders should attend this Day.

But Sir William Fownes and Mr. Tucker, in order to the Disturbance of the Freedom of the Election. determined to come on Horseback to the Place of Election, with Trumpets, Hautboys and other Musick before them, attended with great Numbers; and to that End invited and summoned all forts of People to attend and follow them with Huzza's; and armed with Swords, Clubs, and other Wea-

ons, through the Street to the Tholfel.

The Sheriffs being informed of the Intentions of Sir William Fownes and Mr. Tucker, to go in that Manner; and being apprehensive that it might create great Mischiefs: (Which apprehension of theirs by the unfortunate Accident that has happened this Day, appears to be too well grounded) desired Sir William Fownes on Thursday Night to come to the Poll without raising any Alarm or Tu-4 mult in the Town; as must necessarily be occasioe ned by coming in such a Manner, which could have ono other End in it but to infult the Citizens, and disturb or over awe the Election. But Sir William Fownes

Oath, that one Sims a Gun-smith, being one of those that came with Sir William Fowner and Mr. Tucker, cryed out. Pull down the Stage, pull down

Votes for the Recorder and Mr. Burton; most of the People attending Sir William Founce; and Mr. Tucker being armed with Swords, Cutlelles, or great Clubs; and some of them had Swords, who were never known to wear them at other times.

the Stage, and then follow me to pull down the

Recorder's House: That the said Rioters being

incouraged thereto by several Persons there prefent of Sir William Fownes and Mr. Tucker's Party, with the utmost Violence tore down the Stage, and cut and wounded several who opposed them, notwithstanding the Sheriffs commanded them to keep the Peace.

keep the Peace. Thereupon the Sheriffs finding they were unable to oppose the Rioters, and that the Violence increated, commanded the Posse, or Power of the " Citizens, to support them in the Execution of Her Majesty's Writ. The Sheriffs spoke particularly to 6 some Persons who came with Sir William Fownes and Mr. Tucker, to assist them in suppressing the Riot, which they refused to do, but on the contrary incouraged and promoted it; and the Tumultand Vi-· olence rising to such a Height, the Sheriffs and those about them were in the utmost Hazard, and unable to preserve themselves from the Rage and Fury of of desperate People prepared for the last Mischief, some of the Citizens cryed out, pray fend for the Guards; and the Sheriffs still continuing in Court, stood up, and in Her Majesty's Name again commanded the Peace, and particular-Iv defired Sir William Formes and Mr. Tucker to endeavour to prevail with their People to defift from 4 their Violence, but all to no Purpose. The Guards foon after coming up, with Intention to prefetve the Peace, were assaulted by the Multitude that came with Sir William Fownes and Mr. Tucker, who first began the Fray with the Guards, and wounded feveral of them, and made them retire: So that fome of them were necessitated, in their own Defence, to fire; but did not do it by Command of their Officers, or any other Person; nor were either of the Sheriffs, or Candidates, near or even within the Hearing, or Sight of the Guards, at the time when the Fray began between the Soldiers

"nor did they or the Sheriffs, give any Directions to them at all; but on the contrary, when the Goards

were called for, the Recorder defired there might be no Guards, which many Gentlemen of Honour-

and Credit have deposed.

Upon this whole Matter, tis plain all Mischief had been prevented had Sir William Fownes and Mr.

Tucker been prevailed on to take those quiet and

peaceable Methods which the Sheriffs defined and intreated them to follow, which the other Candi-

dates did: Or if they had used their Endeavours

to stop the Violence of the People who relisted the Execution of the Queen's Writ, pulled down the

Scaffold, and fell upon the Guards, who in their

own Defence were forced to fire, after they were

thrice repulsed by the Fury of these People and be of whom had no Right to vote

The Poll in London is taken in the Hustings where

the Sheriffs Courts are kept, as in the Tholfel with

s us; most of the Elections in the Kingdom in the

· Country Courts; and the great Reason the Blue

coat Hospital is now endeavoured for the Place

of Polling, is, that the numerous Papilts and rude

Number of People who have no Votes may line

the Streets through that end of the Town and infult the Recorder and Mr. Burton, and the peacea-

ble Citizens going to, or coming from that Place;

for which Reason the Sheriffs most prudently fixed

the Poll in the Tholfel.

The several Facts set forth in this Paper appear by the Oaths and Examinations of several Persons

of Honour, Quality and Fortune taken before the

' Justices of the Peace of this City, in order to have

the Rioters profecuted for the Infocent Blood that was spilled.

On the other Hand, the Tory Party cau'd the following Paper to be publish'd.

An Answer to the Tholfel Account : Or, a more true Account of the Friday's Proceedings in Relation to the Poll.

5 T Shall not endeavour to spin out a long and tedious Discourse, of the Matters and Transations before last Friday, being the Day of Polling, nor shall prolong the time by remonstrating the many Inconveniences laid down to the Sheriffs, by. precending to take the Poll in the Tholfel, which indeed were too many and too convincing, not to be complyed with by indifferent and reasonable 5 Men But shall now endeavour to set forth the Matter of Fact as it happened there, and which Every Man then present may in some Measure be a ludge of. viz.

Sir William Fownes and Marein Tucker, Elq; acseconding to the Custom of all or most Candidates. came to the Tholfel, accompany'd by a great Number of Gentlemen and Loyal Citizens, their Friends, fin order to proceed upon the Poll, with only Fiftautboys before them, which I think has been a Scommon Usage in like Cases throughout South-Bris Fram, and particularly at Westminster, the greatest Election in that Kingdom: If therefore this can be deemed a Disturbance of the Freedom of Election or Huzzaing termed a Riot, I submit to all or sany whoever faw an Election fo populous as this, to determine. They no fooner came to the place Sof Polling, but the Bar was utterly taken up, the Pallages cram'd with Sworded Gentlemen; and they found it very difficult to force their Way to "the Seats affigh'd Them, not being able for almost * a Quarter of an Hour to get to the same, nor did the Sheriffs move in the least to assist them. Sir William Fownes and Mr. Tucker, did what in them Is lay to prevent the Noise, by calling out to the Peo-• ple to forbear Huzzaing; but the People finding Z z zthe

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the Bar taken up, and that they cou'd not get up thither to Poll, still continu'd Huzzaing, and made

an attempt to pull down the Stage.

The Citizens of Dublin, as well certainly, as a !! others on this occasion, have undoubted Right to Poll, and certainly to be dispatched from that Poll as foon as in their Power lies fo to be, by pushing forwards to come to the Bar, to give their Names ; onor can it be affirmed by any, that ever there was an Election at Westminster, but what there were double the Number of Voters present, and also double the Disturbance in Quarrels among Opposite Parties of the Electors: I only mention this to fliew, that tho' they have a Garrison (the Savey) e near them, and notwithstanding the many Brangles among the People, there never was yet any Instance, onor can History mention, that a Military Power was ever brought in upon their Civil People, legally Assembled, upon any Pretence whatever. The Sheriffs of Dublin finding the Huzza con-

tinued, (and a Report being made, that they were going to pull down the Stage) immediately fent for the Guard, who came prepared with Powder and Ball, to commit, perhaps, the most barbarous trans-

action that ever was known in a Civil Nation, and to Firein upon the Body of a City, pent up in their

own Tholfel. The Consequences of which (as that

fourrilous Authon Remarks) has been too fatal; s and all this without any Cause or Reason for it:

There was no Riot committed, There was no Blood-shed among the People themselves, nor any

other Damage done, than threatning to pull down the Stage, or crying out, To the Hospital-Green,

to the Green, the usual place of Polling.

No fooner had this Guard appeared firing into the Tholfel, as for joully as if it were an Enemies

f Garrison on one side, but certain Gentlemen be-

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hind the Candidates Seats, drew their Swords, threatning Destruction on the other, using such Language to Sir William Formes and Mr. Tucker, as certainly in such a Place, on such an Occasion, and at

fuch a Time, could not be expected from Men of

their Figure.

How these Soldiers came prepared in that manner, how they fired contrary to the direct Orders
given to their commanding Officer, I am not to determine, but fure it is, that their Orders were,
peremptorily, not to fire a Shot on pain of Death;
or how the Sheriffs came to send for them, upon
fuch friendous Occasions, upon which that dismal
Consequence ensued, I leave to those in Authority
over us to determine, and those Gentlemen present.

to guess at. From all this, it is very evident, that Sir William Former and Mr. Tucker neither were, nor was it possible they could be instrumental in that fatal Business, but on the contrary, have acted in the fame Method with other Candidates, nor can that fourrilous Author, nor his more scurrilous Paper, cram'd with all the Lyes that Malice or Faction can invent, in order to delude the honest and wellmeaning Citizens; as also, if it lay in his Power. to blacken the Reputation of Six William Fownes and Mr. Tucker, (two Gentlemen above the Reach of his Gall) have any other Effect than be looked upon as an Engouragement to Sedition, and laying innocent Blood at the Door of those who would rather have their own Blood shed, than cry out, Kill Fifty, more of them; as may be made appear too foon, perhaps, for those who flould rather preserve than Destroy her Majesty's good Subjects, as well as their Fellow-Citizens. Nor need he bragg of all the Seven that Polled that Day being for the Regorden and Mr. Burton, if he does but consider.

Vol. VI. 4 they are of the Seventeen Aldermen: and no doubt but the other Ten will fo

far fide with their worthy Brethren.

that they will do the same.

* Nov. 716.

The *next Day, the Lord Lieutenant appointed a Committee of Council to inquire into this Diforder; directed the Sheriffs to take more Care for the future; and. upon Information, that the Papills and Jacobises were the Chief Promotors of the Rice beforemention'd, This Grace Poplin Chan caused several Poplin Chappels in Dublin

lin but up.

pels in Dub- to be shut up: Which wonderfully endear'd his Grace to all true Protestints. On Tuesday the 17th of Nevember, the

Sheriffs of Dublin closed the Poll, and on casting up the Books found Mr. Recorder. and Alderman Burron had a great Majority of undoubted Voters; The Poll is to the

The Recorder-1764. Mr. Tucker-1654. Mr. Barton - 1778. Sir W. Foutnes - 1622. Da Bult id icharki un

Hereupon, in the County Court, they

ducly chasen.

Me Forfer declared the Recorder and Alderman and Mr. Bur-Buston; duely chosen Members for the ton declared City of Dublin, to ferve in the enfuing Parliament. Ruis to be observed that One Hundred and Bixty Seven of the Soldiers of the Hospital in the County, and not in the City of Dublin, being produced as Precholders in the City to Vote for Sir William Formes and Mr. Tucker, which would have cast the Majority on their Side, the Sheriffs refused both to enter their Names in their Books.

and to accept their Wotes; because their Vol. VI Pensions are Charity at Pleasure: Which occasion'd no finall Clamour among the High-Church-Party, Sit W. Formes and Mr. Tucker demanded a Scrutiny, which was granted; but avail'd them nothing.

On the 22d a Proclamation was publish'd at Dublin, for Proroguing the Parnet accordingly, the Lord! Lieutenant Nov. 25th. weat to the House of Peers, with the niual State and Solemnity, and the Commons being fent for up, and attending, his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, made the Lieutenant's following Speech to Both Houses: 44 4 ' speech.

The Parlia-

My Lords and Gentlemen.

TER Majesty having, by God's Bleffing upon her plous Endeavours, procured a Safe and Honourable Peace, has nothing now to wish, but that her Subjects may enjoy the Benefits and Advantages of it.

For this purpose she has called you together, that you may consider of, and provide such Laws as you shall iudge necessary for the further Security of the Church of Ireland as by Law established, and the Advancement of the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom.

Her Majesty has nothing more at Heart, than the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of her People, and the settling them upon a lasting Foun-" dation

Vol. VI. dation, by securing the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

By the feveral Estimates and Accounts

which I have directed to be laid before you by the proper Officers, you will

fee what Supplies are wanting to sup-

port the Civil Establishment, and main-

stain a sufficient Number of Forces for your Security against any Danger that

may be apprehended from the great Number of Papifts in this Country.

* Her Majesty does not doubt of your

contributing chearfully such Sums as may be effectual to answer these Puropoles; and has commanded me to affure

you, that there shall be no Misappli-

cation of them, and that what you grant shall, as much as possible, be spent a-

' mong your felves. To this End, the has ordered the

4 two Regiments of Foot, which being ' upon the Irish Establishment, are yet in Great-Britain, to be sent over, as foon

as their Accounts can be made up, and

their English Arrears satisfied. The Money given last Sessions to re-

build the publick Offices destroyed by Fire, has been apply'd to that Service

as far as could be done in so little Time;

and I will take care that those Buildings

shall be finished with all convenient fpeed.

As the feveral additional Duties will expire at Christmas, Her Majesty, to

prevent their lapfing, has fent over a Bill to be offered to your Consideration,

to continue them for Three Months; Vol. VI. whereby you will still have an Oppor-

tunity further to provide for the Cre-

dit of Her Government, and your own

Safety, by fuch Ways and Means as you fhall think proper.

' My Lords and Gentlemen,

' I am very sensible of the great Hoonour Her Majesty has done me, in pla-

cing me in so eminent a Station, and

of my own Inability sufficiently to dis-

charge so great a Trust: But this I will

beg leave to assure you, that no One

ever endeavour'd it with more Zeal for

· Her Majesty's Service, and for your In-

terest (which I take to be inseparable)

than I am firmly resolved to do.

• I must therefore earnestly recommend it to you, that as the Protestants in this

Kingdom are united in one common

Interest, you may all agree in the same

' means of promoting it; and shew, by

'a dutiful Comportment, and by laying

' aside all Warmth and Resentment, that

every one of you is equally concerned

for Her Majesty's Service and the Good

of this Kingdom.

'This will appear by the Unanimity of your Proceedings; and you may depend

upon it, That I shall make a faithful

Representation of them to Her Maje-

fty; being assured, that She will look

' upon your Temper and good Agree-" ment as the greatest Instance you can

' give of your Loyalty and Affection to

' Her Person and Government.

There was, the next Day, a great Struggle in the House of Commons, about

Aaa

the

Vol. VI. the Choice of a Speaker, Sir Richard
Levinz being put up by the Tory Party, Struggle in and Alan Broderick, Esq; by the Whiggs: ste H. of C. a. But upon a Division Mr. Broderick was

bout the Choice chosen, by a Majority of Four Voices.
of a Speaker. The Speech he made to the Lord Lieute-

Mr. Brode- nant was as follows : rick shofen.

THE Commons in Parliament af-'s fembled, in Obedience to your Grace's Commands, and according to an-'cient Ulage, have proceeded to the Choice of one of their Number to pre-'fide in their Debates as Speaker of their 'House, and have commanded me to prefent my felt to your Grace, as the Perfon whom they have elected to that great and important Trust. To collect readily the true Sense of a numerous ' Assembly; to form the same into Queflions, in order to their final Resolution; and to present their Conclusions, Declarations, and Petitions to your Grace, in the best Manner, and with full Advantage, is part of the Duty that Man undertakes, who is hardy enough to accept so arduous a Province. And the Sense I have of my own Imperfections and Disabilities, makes tremble when I reflect on the Difficulties, under which learned, experienced, and wife Men have labour'd in the Chair of that House. But when I consider, that my Endeavours to ferve Her Majefty and this Kingdom in the Chair of a former Parliament, were so acceptable to, and approved by the whole House of Commons, that they were pleased to express their Sense of them by a signal Mark

Mark of Respect, after I ceased to be a Vol. VI. Member of their House: When I consider, that out of many Gentlemen of great Abilities and Knowledge in the Laws and Methods of Parliament, the . * Commons have now again judged me capable to fill the Chair to their Expectation, I dare not put my own Fears and Diffidence of my felf in Balance with their fuperior Judgment. I delight my felf with the agreeable Prospect of Unani-" mity in the House; and hope, as well as earnestly desire, their greatest Contest may be, who shall shew most Zeal and Forwardness in expressing their Loyalty and Duty to Her Majesty, their firm Adherence to our excellent Constitution in Church and State, and the profoundest Respect to your Grace's Person and Government. Such a Temper may be reasonably expected under a chief Governor, who in Addition to ancient 'Nobility, greatest Offices of Honour and Trust in the State, and the Favour of Her most excellent Majesty, is qualified to make us a happy People, by a discerning Judgment, consummate Wisdom, a mild and gracious Disposition and Temper of Mind, and an Inclination to heal the Divisions and cure the Distracations of this once happy Kingdom. 'These Blessings the Commons promise themselves will be the Essects as well as eternal Honour of your Grace's Admi-'nistration of the Government.

After the Speaker was approved, he made the usual Demands of Right, concerning the Privileges of the Commons;

Aaa 2 who

Vol. VI. who being return'd to their Houses, appointed the Grand Committees; and among the rest Mr. Forster, Recorder of Dublin, was chosen Chairman of the Committee of Elections; which was a further Mortification to the High-Church-Party. They also appointed Committees to draw up Addresses of Thanks and Con-

Mr. Forster gratulation both to her Majesty, and the man of the wards approved, and presented, as fol-Commince of lows:

Elections.

Commons sbe Queen.

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty. The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of beland in Parliament assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign, TE your Majesty's most Duissul and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Ireudress of the land in Parliament assembled, do with all Humility approach your Royal Person, to congra-tulate your Majesty on the Success of your pious Endeavours in procuring a Sase and Honoura-

ble Peace.

And your faithful Commons being deeply Sensible of the great Hopes the vast Body of Papists of this Kingdom entertain of seeing the Succession in the Protestant Line, as settled by several Alls of Parliament in Great Britain defea ed, cannot but esteem it one of the principal Advantages of the Peace, that your Majesty hath obliged the French King to acknowledge, in the strongest Terms, the Succession in the House of Hanover, and to remove out of his Dominions, that Person, who in Desiance of your Majesty's undoubted Title Vol VI.
to the Crown, and the many Laws made for
securing the Protestant Succession in that Illustrious Family, has assumed to himself the Title of King of these Realms. Nor can they omit this Opportunity of returning your Majesty their unseigned and hearty Thanks for your gracious Promises to your Two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain, to use your most pressing Instances with the Duke of Lorrain, and all other Princes and States in Amily with your Majesty, not to receive, or suffer to continue in any Part of their Dominions the Pretender to your Majesty's Crown.

We humbly beg Leave, at the same Time, to express the deep Sense we have of all your Majesty's Graces and Favours to this Kingdom, in preserving to your People their Religious and Civil Rights, and in the Care you have taken to transmit those Blessings to Posterity, by securing the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious

House of Hanover.

We of this Nation have Reason at this Time to acknowledge, among other Instances of your Goodness, that you have been pleased to spare from your own Person and Councils the Duke of Shrewsbury, to represent your Royal Authority here; whose Zeal for our Religion and Liberties, and consummate Wisdom and Experience in the most important Affairs of State, and whose Loyalty to your Majesty, leave us no Room to doubt of our being happy under his mild and just Administration.

We humbly pray your Majesty will believe we shall make a right Use of the Favours to us in this Meeting of Parliament, and that we shall take all Occasions of stewing our Loyalty and Vol. VI.

and Affection to your Majesty, by the Unanimity and Temper of our Proceedings, by cheerfully granting the necessary Supplies, and by feconding your Majesty's Gracious Intentions of supporting our Church as by Law established, and strengthning the Protestant Interest in this Kingdom.

This we ought to do if we consulted only ourown Advantage and Welfare: But it is the peculiar Blessing of your Majesty's Reign, that all you require from your People, to recome: mend themselves, and merit your Favour, is only to promote their own Prosperity and Happi-

ness.

Addiefs of the OCI未来是来来来来来来来来来来来来来来来来来。 Commons the Lord Lieu. The Humble Address of the House

of Commons to his Grace, the

Duke of Shrewsbury.

May it please your Grace,

TE Her Majesty's most faithful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament affembled, do joyfully present our selves before your Grace, to return our most humble and hearty Thanks for your excellent Speech from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament.

We are sensible we lie under the highest Obligations to Her Majesty for the Continuance of Her Royal Favour to us through the whole Course of Her glorious Reign, for the Assu-rances She has been pleas'd to give us by your Grace's Speech, and for this eminent Mark of Her Goodness to us in placing you in the Government of this Kingdom.

The

The many and important Trusts and Em- Vol. VI. ployments which Her Majesty hath conferred upon you, are the just Rewards of your Wisaom and Fidelity; and to compleat your Grace's Character, you have been also in a most eminent Manner, instrumental in bringing about the glorious Revolution in 1688, to which, under God, we owe the Preservation of our Religion, Liberties, and Properties; in Defence of which we are resolv'd to venture all that is most dear to us; and have since continued to all with the same sincere Regard to the Interests of the Church, and Prerogative of the Crown, and Liberty of the Subject, as you did then, when you appeared so seasonably in Defence of them all.

Tour ardent Wishes for our Welfare and Prosperity; your Concern for our Preservation against the Attempts of the great Number of Papists in this Country; your declaring Her Majesty's Royal Intentions, that the Troops which are paid by this Establishment shall be sent over; that the Monies given by Parliament, as much as is possible, shall be spent among our selves; and that none of the publick Treasure shall be misapply'd; are so many powerful Motives to endear your Grace to this

Kingdom.
In dutiful Return for these Instances of Her Majesty's Royal Goodness, we beg Leave to assure your Grace, that we will effectually support Her Establishment, and provide for the Honour of the Government; that we will on all Occasions demonstrate our Zeal for the Sasety and Preservation of Her Mujesty's Sacred Person and Authority, the Church of England as by Law establish'd, and the Protestant

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And we will endeavour by our Temper to deserve such a Representation of our Proceedings to Her Majesty, as may entitle us to the Continuance of Hir Grace and Favour.

To this Address the Lord Lieutenant made the following Answer:

The LA. Lieutenani's Anfwer to the, Commons Address.

Gentlemen.

Am very well pleas'd to find, that what I have faid to you is fo much to your Satisfaction: I will take · Care to represent to Her Majesty the ' Zeal you express for Her Service, and ' shall think my felf happy if I can pro-

omote the Prosperity and Welfare of this

'Kingdom.

On the other Hand, the Lords prefented the following Address to the Lord Lieutenant.

The Lords Addrefs 10 His Gruce.

May it please Your Grace,

KTE the Lords Spiritual and Tem-' poral in Parliament assembled. do, with great Satisfaction, attend your Grace, to return our most humble · Thanks for Your excellent Speech from the Throne, and to congratulate You upon the considerable Part Your Grace has had in the late Safe and Honourable Peace; which we are persuaded will derive many Benefits and Advantages to this this Kingdom, under Her Majesty's Vol. VI. happy Government, and Your Grace's

wise Administration.

We are fully convinc'd, That the Preservation of our Church by Law establish'd, our Rights and Liberties, doth under God, intirely depend on the Securing the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover.

As the best Means of preserving these Blessings to us, We shall use our utmost Endeavours to disappoint the treache-

rous Designs of the Papists on one Hand, and the bold Encroachments of the Dif-

fenters on the other, some of whose

leading Teachers, We beg Leave to acquaint Your Grace, refuse to take the Oath of Abjuration; and yet, in Defi-

ance of the Law, preach in publick be-

fore numerous Assemblies.

We are perfectly satisfied, That Your Grace has nothing more at Heart, than the Good of this Kingdom, and that no Person is more capable of Promoting it than Your Grace, from the Knowledge We have of Your Great Abilities, and the Integrity you have always shewn, in the many eminent Trusts Your Grace has discharg'd under the Crown, in the Service of Your Country.

To which the Lord Lieutenant anfwer'd as follows:

My Lords,

Eis Grace's Answer-

Return Your Lordships Thanks for your kind Address. I shall always

Bbb be

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sellor.

Vol. VI. • be ready to promote the Interest of this 'Kingdom, and concur in any Thing to fupport our Church as established by Law, against the Designs of Papists, or the Encroachments of any others whatfoever.

Referving the further Proceedings of the Irish Parliament for our Next, let's now attend what pass'd in England. On Wyndham, Sunday the 1st of November, Sir William Privy Coun-Windham, Baronet, Chancellor of the sellor. Exchequer, was sworn one of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council.

Two Days * after Samuel Shepherd Senior, * Nov. 3. Mr. Shepherd Esq; was chosen Sub-Governor of the

Senior made South Sea Company.

the S. Sea On the 4th the Earl of Peterborow, Her Majesty's Embassador Extraordinary to Company. The E. of the New King of Sicily, fet out for that Peterborow Kingdom, by the Way of France; and it fers out for Kingdom, by the Way of France; and it France, in his was confidently reported His Lordship

Way to Sicily, was charged with a Commission to the French Court, viz. to intercede for the Catalans, who, principally, upon His Lordship's Encouragement, and Promises of Her Majesty's firm Protection, had, at first, declared for King Charles, the prefent Emperor. Now as nothing has happen'd for many Years past, more remarkable than the Resolution the Catalans have shew'd to defend their Liberties, and for that Purpose, to stand it out against the whole Power of King Philip: It will not be amiss to preserve in this Journal the Abstract of a Letter from one of the States of that Principality, dated from Barcelona,

the 11th of Septembeer, N. S. which is as Vol. VI. follows,

S to what passes we have wrote the great Refoyou before this, so we have on lution of Iy to say if you will look over our for-Caralans. mer Letters, you will find we always 'told you, that tho' the whole World should leave us, we alone should continue the War, because it's the Cause of 'God, for the King's Cause is just, and was approved as fuch by those who have 'now abandoned us. We were 6 Days debating, and at last it was resolved to continue the War in the Name of the King our Master, the 6th of July. fassure you, tho' the Enemy is before the City, and that this Day they have begun to batter the Convent of Saint Madrona with 6 Pieces of Cannon, here ' is no Body in this City afraid, for we 'put our Hopes of a Remedy in God Al-'mighty, and I am certain, in a very fhort Time, we shall experience the Success to the Amazement of the whole World; and God will do this, that Men ' may know that He only is capable of ma-' king Kings and destroying them. It is onow 6 Weeks the Enemy have lain before this City, in which Time they have done nothing; and I assure you that in that Time, what with our Troops, the Country People, Volunteers, and Miquelets, we have killed 3000 of the Enemy, and have not lost 100 Men on four Side.

B bb 2

Other

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Other Letters from Barcelona have fince acquainted us, 'That on the 21st of November, N. S. in the Night, General Nebot, and Don Joseph Martini, Lieute-' nant General of the Infantry, fallied out of that Place in great Silence, with 4000 Men, divided into Eight Regiments; that having penetrated as far as the Convent of Our Lady of Grace, where the Caltilians had one of their principal Quarters, they forced it, put 600 Men to the Sword, and took 400 Prisoners, among them one Colonel, 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 10 Captains, and 4 30 Subalterns; which done the Catalani retired in good Order into the Town, with their Prisoners, and a great Booty of Horses and other things. That the Catalans lost but 100 Men in that wellconcerted and successful Action, amongst them the Lieutenant Colonel of the Deputation, who was very much regretted. That the Castilians upon Disaster abandoned several Posts near Barcelona, for Fear of a Surprize, and had cast up Intrenchments in several Places: That fince the Arrival of a great Fleet with Provisions from the Island of Majorca, and another from Sardinia, they had Plenty of all Things in Barcelona, and sufficient Quantities to ferve 'em the whole Winter: That there was a perfect Harmony between the Inhabitants and the other Catalans that had taken Sanctuary there, who were both the one and the other resolved to defend the Place, and affert their Liberties and · Privileges

Privileges to the last Extremity; but Vol VI. that however they had certain Affurances, that the Spaniards would not beliege the Place in Form this Winter. That the Barcelonians were daily augmenting their Naval Forces, infomuch that by this Time they had actually at Sea 14 Men of War, besides several Frigats and armed Barks. That on the 21st this Squadron took a French Ship of 30 Guns, homeward bound from the West-Indies, with 100000 Pieces of Eight on Board, and a great deal of Merchandize. 'That all the Captains of that Squadron were enjoyn'd to feize on all Ships laden with Provisions, of what Nation soever they be, and to bring them into Barcelona, where they shall be paid the foll Va-· lue of their Cargoe; by which Means they hope to be sufficiently supplied with Provisions from Time to Time. That they had already brought into that Port two English Ships laden with Cod-Fish for Marseilles. That the 19th two other Vessels laden with Corn, from the Levant, had, by Stress of Weather, been forced to put into Barcelona, and that they had received Intelligence, which confirm'd their former Advices, that General Bracamonte, who 'tempted to surprize the Castle of Cardona, was repuls'd with the Loss of 600 Men, besides a greater Number that were kill'd in his Rear, being pursued in their Retreat by Colonel Farrer with his Regiment; so that upon the whole "Matter, the Affairs of the Catalans were

Vol. VI. ' in a very prosperous Condition.' This fingle Instance shews what Men are capable to perform when they exert themfelves for the Defence and Support of their Rights and Privileges.

The 4th of November being the Birth-

K. William's lemnized. Nov. 4.

Birth-day so- Day of the late King William, of everglorious Memory, the same was solemnized in the Cities of London and Westminfter by all fuch as are zealously affected both to the Revolution; and (which is a Confequence of it) to Her present Majesty's Government, and the Protestane Succession in the most Serene House of Hanover. Most of the shops in the City, and not a few in the Suburbs, were shut up; and in the Evening there were Illuminations and Bonefires, particularly before the Queen's Arms Tavern in Pall-mall, at Charing-Crofs, Temple-Bar, and Stocks-Market, at which Two first Places the Effigies of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender were burnt by

Treason-day oblerv'd. Nov. s.

the Populace. The Next * Day was ob-Gun-Powder ferv'd, as usual, the Anniversary Thanksgiving, for the happy Deliverance of King James I. and the Parliament, from the Intended Hellish Massacre by Gun-Powder: and also for the happy Arrival of His late Majesty King William III. on that auspicious Day, for the Deliverance of the Church and Nation from Popery and Arbitrary Power. At one of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Great Guns of the Tower were fired; and in the Evening there were, in most Streets, Illumina-tions, and Bonefires, in some of which the Three Effigies before-mention'd were alfo

also burnt: But to prevent Disorders, Vol. VI. the Trained-Bands of London and West- minster were those Two Days under Queen Eliza Arms.

Deth's Inau

On the 17th of this Month was cele-guration brated the Anniversary Rejoycing for the lemnized. happy Inauguration of Queen Elizabeth of Nov. 17th. glorious Memory: And among the Rest, the Society of Gentlemen who, of late, have distinguish'd themselves by the Name of the HANOVER-CLUB, and, now and then, meet at a Coffee-House at Charing-Cross, having with great Secrecy, order'd the Effigies of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender, to be made, caused them to be burnt in a great Bonefire provided for that Purpose, after they had been carried, in Solemn Procession, through the principal Streets of London and Westminster; of which the following Account was made publick:

Lon. No. 18. Testerday being the Anni-Account of the versary of the Inauguration of Q. Eliz where-Solemn Burnon, by the Death of her Sister Mary, she was ing of the Effendarged from the Tower, and proclaimed Devil, the Queen, the Morning was ushered in with Pope, and the ringing of Bells in divers Places of the City Pretender. and Suburbs, and in the Evening the Members of the Hanover Club, confisting of many of the Nobility, and Gentlemen of the best Fortunes and Estates in the Realm, having liberally cantributed towards celebrating a Festival to which we owe the Establishment of the Protestant Religion, Three Figures were made; one representing the Devil, another the Pope, and the Mid the Pretender.

The POLITICAL STATE Vol. VI. all in suitable and proper Appointments. The I Pope with his Triple Crown on his Head, his Crosser Staff in his Hand, and in a rich Cope and Robe, with other the significant Badges and Trinkets of Popery and Superstition, was placed in the Middle of a Machine prepared fer the Purpose, in his usual Dress, as exhibited on the like Occasions: and on his left Hand the Pretender to her Majesty's Dominions, in a blue Coat richly laced, and a broad brim'd Hat and Feather, cock'd Alamode. They were this convey'd through the principal Streets of the City and Suburbs, the Procession beginning at Charing Cross, and from thence thre' Pall-Mall, St. James's Street, Piccadilly, Gerrard Street, Holborn. Snow Hill, Newgate Street, and Cheapside, to Cornhil, and thence back thro' Cheapside, St. Paul's Church Yard. Ludgatestreet, Fleetstreet and the Strand, to Charing Cross again, being lighted by several hundreds of Flambeaux and Links, born for that Purpose, and accompanied by Some Thousands of her Majesty's good and loyal Protestant Subjects, crying out, God

preserve the Queen, the Church, the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover; No Popery, no Pretender; and with like Loyal Acclamations. Twas great Matter of Diversion to the Spectators, and all that numerous Company, to observe the artful Contrivance and Gesticulations of the 3 Figures, the Pape being represented with all the Lines, in his Face of a crafty designing infidious old Trickster; the Pretender with these of an Imposter and a Bubble; and the Devil with broadeliens of Fury, from a Mixture

for November, 1713.

ture of Affurance and Despair, distinguish- Vol. VI. able through the Spindes of his ordinary fullen Complexion, and throughout the whole Preceffion all three appearing in deep Confult. But twas observable to the most curious, that the Aims of the Pope and Perkin were by their Companion's Whisperings, his Wreathings, his Cringings, and other important Gesticulations of that Kind, chiefly owing to the Instigations of the Devil. Many Houses both in the Gity and Suburbs were illuminated on the Octation. and when the Procession returned to Charing Crofs, a great Bonefire of feveral bundred of Faggots prepared for the Purpose, was lighted, and after three Turns round it, all the Three Figures were committed to the Flames with the like Acclamations, the Company gathering in the March and surrounding the Bon fire to the Number of some Thousands. At the same Place Her Majesty's Health, Prosperity to the Church of England as by Law eftablifi'd, and the Protestant Hanover Succession, were drank with repented Huzzas; and it is very remarkable; that during the whole Progress of this Solemnity, the the Train'd Bands were not out, there was not the least Disturbance, Insult, or Disorder est ven or offered. Note, The same Evening there were Bonefires and Illuminations, in most of the high streets.

On the oth of November, the Marchio The March of ness of Carmarthen, Daughter to the deliver'd of a Lord High-Treasurer; was brought to son. Bed of a Son; but died before she was she dies Nov. up again, viz. on the 20th, being gene-20th rally lamented, as a Lady of great Piety.

Vertue, and Judgment.

C C C

Vol. VI. About this Time a Patent pais'd the J Seals, for making Dr. Brickenden, Malter A Canonship of Pembrake College in Oxford, and his or Successors for ever, the first Canonship of beltow'd the Master of Glocefor, that that happen in Her Maje-College, Ox. Ity's Gift. Pembroke

On the 7th of this Month, the Dake The D. D'Au-D' Aumout, Embassador Extraordinary mont fees out from France, fet out from London in his for France. Return homewards, being attended leve-

ral Miles out of Town by about Forty Tradesmen on Horseback, who had been

employ'd by His Excellency.

The Ld. Slane. The Lord Slave of the Kingdom of made Viscount Ireland was, about this Time, created Longfort. Lord Viscount Lengford, and Baron Stame of the same Kingdom.

On the 3d of this Month, Narciffus The Arbo. of Armagh dies. Marsh, Lord Archbithop of Armagh, and Ld. Primate of all Ireland, died at Dublin: He was a Prelate of Exemplary Charity, of which he left a lasting Monument; His great having built at Dregkeds a noble Fabrick

and endowed it for ever, for the Enter-Charity. tainment of Twenty Clergy-Men's Widows, who have each an Apartment in it.

and 20 l. per Annum.

the Sicilian ... On Sunday the 7th of November, the mbesselor Marquis de Trivie, Embassador Extraor-Embassador he bighther dinary from the New King of Sicily, had his First Private Audience of Her Majesty diense. at Windfor: It, is to be objerv'd, I hat His Excellency having notify'd his Arrival to the Foreign Ministers in Town, without explaining to them whether he

had his Character from his Master either The other Mi- as Dake of Savoy, or King of Sicily, they forbore making him the usual Visit. visiting bim.

About

About this Time, Brigadier Joceline was Vol. VI. made Colonel of the Riegiment of House William Preference by Lieutenant Ge-Military Preference Langton; Brigadier Haw Hamilton had the Regiment of Boot which was Rolonel Durers; and Colonel Chudlaigh had Brigadier Ham Hamilton's Regiment, which was reduced.

About this Time, died Mrs. Barry, the the famous A-most accomplished Address that ever trod Bress dies. there English Stage, both for Comedy and

Tragedy.

Having promised in our last to given account of the

our next, an Account of the Letton Ele-london Ele-dion for Members of Parliament, We liament Men. Rall here take Notice, that the lame come on the 12th of Offichers. The Candidates put up by the High-Church Party were Siv Richard House the then Land Meyor, Sir William Wiebers, Sir John Gaft, and Sir George Newland, being the Four Last Members: in Opposition to whom those who were against the Treaty of Commerce with France, put up Four aminent Merchanes, viz John Ward, Thomas Seawen, Robert Housham, and Perer Godfrey, Elouires. There was a val Appearance in the Hall on Both Sides; but the Sheriffs having declared the Majority for the four Old Members, a Poll was demanded for the other Four, which was granted,

and immediately proceeded upon, for fome imal Times Many Quaters coming to poll, most of them for the four Mer-chants, the Opposite Party insisted, to tender them the Abjuration Qath, as the Law directs; which the y refusing, occa-

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fion'd

Vol. VI. Kon'd fome Debate, and for the Debate was adjourn'd till the next Morning.

The Merchants being like to lose a great - Number of Voices by the Qualters not being admitted to poll, they bethought themselves of an Expedient, and infifted, that all that voted on either Side should qualify themselves, according to Law; well knowing, that not a few Roman Ca-· ekolisks, who appear'd for the Four Old Members, would not take the Oaths, particularly that of Abjunction. Hereupon the High-Church-Party thought it most for their Advantage to compromise the Matter ; and fo it was agreed that the Oaths fould not be tendend to any that poll'd on eigher Side. Thus far . the Election proceeded in a Fair, and Regular Way, and continued to for fome Days; the Effects of which appear'd visibly to be in Favour of the Four Merchants, who outstripp'd their Competitors by feveral Hundreds of Voices. Hereupon, those who supported the Old Members, bestirr'd themselves with such indefatigable Zeal and Industry, that what by the Affiltance both of Present and Absent Friends; what by the Help of Persons confin'd for Debt, whose Liberty was procured to ferre this Critical Turn; what by other Methods, too tedious, and perhaps unfafe to be mention'd: when the Poll was closed, viz. on Saturday the 24th of Ottober, the Voices frood thus: 4 day a feet and a feet to be

Sr. Ri. Heare 3842. | John Ward, Esq., 3730. Vol. VI. Sr. W. Withers 3763. | Th. Scawen, Esq., 3625. Vol. VI. Sr. John Cass 3800. | Ro. Heysham Esq., 3688. S.G. Newland 3826. Pe. Godfrey, Esq; 3657.

The Sheriffs having, on Monday the 26th of October, declared the four Old Members duely chosen, the Four Merchants demanded a Scrutiny; but the Sheriffs thought fit to put it off till the Saturday following, by Reason of their attending on the 29th on Sir Sam. Stanier, the New Stanier from Lord Mayor, who that Day was fworn at Lord Mayor of Westminster, with the usual Solemnity.

London.

The Scrutiny began accordingly the 31st of October; and in order to expose some foul Practices, the Friends of the Merchants publish'd a List of such as had poll'd for their Antagonists: But this avail'd them nothing; for the Writs for chusing Parliament-Men, being returnable on the 12th of November, the High-Church-Party concluded from thence, that the said Writs expired that Day, and thereupon the Sheriffs did not think fit to The Scruting go through with the Scrutiny; but de-four Old Memclared the four Old Members to be duely bets declared elected, and return'd them accordingly duely chosen. on the 12th. The Tories having, by their Voucher, the Post-Boy + given it out, + Sec Paft-That as far as the Scruting had proceeded, Boy of Nov. the Whigs had lost Ground; and there was no 14. Doubt but they would have done so in the Whole: The Author of the Daily-Courant thought fit to fet the Publick right, by printing what follows:

LONDON,

LONDON, December 3, 1713.

It having been reported, That by the Scruting, as far as it was taken by the Sheriffs of London for the late Election of Members to ferre in the next Parliament, it appeared that there was a greater Number of bad Pollers for the Merchants than for the Old Members: In order to refute this Report, it is thought necessary to publish this impartial Account of those Pollers on each Side, and to insert their Disqualifications, whereby it is plain that there were more had Pollers for the Old Members than for the Merchants.

Bakers.

Disqualifications:

Not in the Clerk's Lift. William Avery Poll'd for both. John Bridges Since the Test of the Writ. Richard Collins His Fine return'd. William Wood Twice poll'd, and admitd. ? John Crouch Since the Test of the Writ. S John Crouch Not in the Clerk's Lift. Edmund Tibbey Not in the Clerk's Lift. John Taylor Barber Chyrurgions. Not in the Clerk's Lift. Christopher Brookes. Joseph Bradley Ditto. Twice poll'd for the same William Brooke Members. Not in the Clerk's Lift. Moses Carr 5 Dittà having fined to be Rebert Dennes 2 excused all Offices. Twice poll'd for the same. George Fisher Not in the Clerk's Lift. Robert Garter Since the Test of the Writ. James Hicks Nor in the Clerk's Lift Foseph Ridout Ditto. Thomas Rottley Since the Test of the Writ. Thomas Totbills Barber tONEC.C.

John Warren — Proved to be personated.

Robert Aubery — Not in the Clerk's List.

Valentine Day — Not free of the City.

Edward Duke — Twice poll'd for the same.

John Gilbert — Dead.

William Rookes — Not in the Clerk's List.

Brewers.

Anthony Bond
Richard Clarke
John Foggerly
Fames Maddocks

Bowyers.

Chales Blackone —

Lorimore Nevill - Blacksmiths.

John Adley — Edmunds Betts — Benjamin Braithwaite William Coursey — Richard Denton —

Edward Davis -William Franks -Robert Hoare -

Isaac Herbert

William Johnson -

Philiph Jones —
John Medly —
John Robinson —
Thomas Ridley —
Nicholas Scephens —
John Treeizer —
Edward Tindal

Dead.
Not heard of several Years.
Not in the Clerk's List.
Dirro.

Twice poll'd for the same. Not in the Clerk's List.

Not in the Clerk's Lift.

Ditto.

Since the Test of the Writ.

The Day of the Test.

Ditto.

Not in the Clerk's Lift.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Ditto.

Poll'd on both fides, appear d.

Since the Test of the Writ. Ditto.
Not in the Clerk's List.
Twice poss'd for the lame.
Not in the Clerk's List.
Ditto.
Ditto.

-Blacksmiths.

Tho. Tarrant

Richard Hayward

Tho. Cobb

مذاء د د ۱۰۰۰

Dismiss'd the Livery.

Fined to be excused all Offices.

Since the Test of the Writ.

Sugrendred the Livery.

George Turvey - Sugrendred the Livery.

Richard White - Since the Test of the Wr

The. White - Ditte.

John Harris Since the Test of the Writ.

Job Pierson Not in the Clerk's List.

Broiderers.

James Cawfey — Not in the Clerk's Lift.

David Christian — Not in the Clerk's Lift.

Henry Child — Since the Test of the Writ.

Humphry Clarks — Ditte.

Humphry Clarke — Ditto.

John Gardiner — Ditto.

Samuel Tropell — Ditto.

Edward Wolley - Dead.

Dauld-Waller - Since the Test of the Writ.

Butchers.

William Child Pensioner.

Anthony Newins — At Port Mahone.

Christopher Stanley — Not in the Clerk's List:

Tho. Townsend — Poll'd on both sides, deposed.

Richard Boddington — Not in the Clerk's List.

Richard Boddington — Not in the Clerk's List.

Since the Test of the Writ.

Bricklayers.

Robert Jeffson — Not in the Clerk's List.

Henry Knit — Since the Test of the Writ.

Nicholas Wood — Fined to be excused all Offices

Richard Baker — Since the Test of the Writ.

John Hillier — Not in the Clerk's List.

Carpenters.

John Arnold
Henry Ford
Henry Ford
George Geffreys

Not in the Clerk's Lift.

and twice polled.

Not in the Clerk's Lift.

Carpenters.

.

Edward Littlefield

Carpenters.

Disqualifications.

Poll'd on both fides, fwore: (A blind Beggar hir'd to) Thomas Sawyer poll not of the Livery, as by his own Affidavit.

William Warren Peter Warren

Abrabam Wilkins Jobn Davis

Robert Pate Lambert Froud Ditto. Diero.

Poll'd on both fides. Not in the Clerk's List.

Not in the Clerk's List.

Ditto.

Total Hoare 59, Withers 62, Cass 63, Newland 58. Total Ward 26, Scamen 25, Heysham 26, Godfrey 25.

The Apothecaries Polls were refused upon pretence that their Charter and By-Laws should be produced in Court, though the Clerk of that Company declared it was impracticable from shortness of his Notice to obtain an Order of the Court of Assistants to that purpose.

The Polls of the Armorers were rejected because they had by a new Charter the addional Title of

BRASTERS.

· And if these two Companies had been first scrutinized into (as they ought to have been) the Four MERCHANTS had gained fifteen Votes more than

those abovementioned,

NB. There are Sixty Livery Companies in this City; the Nine which have been scrutiniz'd by the Sheriffs, appear, as by the Account above. In time the Publick may expect an exact Account of the Scrutiny of the Fifty One remaining Companies, for their farther latisfaction.

Ddd

On

On Thursday the 12th of Navember, 392 Vol. VI. the Parliament of Great-Britain met at Parliament West minster ; and pursuant to the late Prorogued. Proclamation, was prorogued to the roth of December next The same Night, died Dr. Edward
The Bp. of Watersshall, Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland,
Kilmore dies aged 77. He is Author of a Greek Gram-Kilmore dies mar much in Vogue.

About this Time, Dr. Andrew Snape Dr. Snape: a Canon of was made a Cannon of Windfor, in the Windfor. Room of Dr. William Cave deceased. On the 15th Signior Grimaldi, Envoy Extraordinary of the Great Duke of Tustany, had a private Audience of the Queen at Windfor, at which he deliver'd to her Majesty a Letter from his Highnels, and another from the Princess, the Death of notifying the Death of the Great Prince: the Primer of For which the Court' went into Mourning for Six Weeks. rified. The Lady Grimftone dies.

On the 22d. of November the Lady Anne Grimstone, Sister to the Harl of Thanet, a Lady of exemplary Piety and Charity, died at her House in Herifordfhire.

About this Time a new Commission pass'd the Seals, appointing the follow-New Commissing Gentlemen Commissioners for the sioners of the Duties on Hides, viz, Richard Shoreditch, Leather Office. William Milbank, Roger Milart, Justinian Isham, Thomas Leigh, and Reginald Ryley Elquires: The Two last in the Room of

George Townshend, and Philip Ryley Esques.

About the latter End of November
Mr. Stanian, it was made publick, That Abraham and Mr. Cole Stanian Esq; Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary

for November, 1713,

traordinary to the Swife Cantons, and Christian Cole Esq. Her Majesty's Socre- U tary at Venice were recall'd.

On Saturday the 28th of Navember The Bishop of Dr. Hickman, Lord Bishop of London-Londonderry Derry in Ireland, died at Fulham.

The same Day being the last Day of the Term, Mr. Bedford appeared at the Mr. Bedford Court of Queen's Bench, to the Informa-appears at the tion filed against him for Handing to the Bar of the Press, the Book intituled, The Heredicary Queen's Bench Right of the Crown of England asetsed, &c.

On the 29th the Baron Schutz, Envoy Baron Schutz Extraordinary from the Elector of Han- Envoy Extr. oper, had his first private Audience of from Hanover bus bis first private Audience of from Hanover bus bis first Her Majesty, to which he was Intro-Private Audiduced by the Right Honourble William ence.

Bromley Esq. one of Her Majesty's Prin-

cipal Secretaries of State.

On the 20th of November, the Risbank, The Risbank one of the principal Out-Works of the and other Town of Dunkirk, that cover'd the Jettees Forts at Dunor Cawfeys, that form the Entrance in-kirk blown up to the Port, was blown up; and the next Day the Rubbish and Lodgments within it were levell'd. Five Days after (Nov. 26.) the Fort de Revers was likewise blown up, and ruin'd; and the Workmen began the Demolishing Seven of the Bastions. On the other Hand, the French Ships in the Bason or Port, were order'd to be fitted out and to take on board the King's Stores, in order to transport them to some other Port: But notwithstanding all this, the Inhabitants of Dunkirk Itill flatter'd themselves,

Ddd 2 That The POLICAL STATE

Vol. VI. That their darling Harbour would not be ruin'd and deltroy'd. Their enter-taining their fond Hopes, gave, perhaps, Occasion to the following Letter, which + Dec. 14. some Time after was inserted in a printed Paper call'd the English-Man. as follows:

To the ENGLISHMAN.

bout the imperfect Demolition of Dunkirk

SIR, Hague, Dec. 6. 1713. Have read many of your Papers, and from an honeit English Spirit I observed in them, thought an Account of the French way of demotishing Dunkirk, would be received as a matter of the greatest Moment. The Risbank, Fort Blane, and Outworks of the City of Dunkirk, are demolished, but the Port, the Bason for the Men of War, and the great Sluices, by which the Canals of Furnes, Bourbourg, and Bergh St. Winox, discharge themselves into the · Port and cleanse it, are still entire, and there is no Appearance of its being ever intended to destroy them; so that all yet done, or indeed likely to be done, may be only an Elusion of the * Treaty, and agrees most exactly with what was proposed in Tugge's Memorial, viz. the ruining the Fortifications, and preferving the Port. They have indeed begun to demolifi Three of the Bastions of the Body of the Place, but work fo flowly, that it looks as if nothing more were delign'd by it, than to prevent its being faid the Demolition

was discontinued. And it is publick- Vol. VI. ly faid at *Dunkirk* by the principal • Merchants and Inhabitants, that it was to go in this manner till the meeting of the British Parliament; and they have received fuch mean Impressions of our Nation, as to hope that an Address will then be Procured from the House of Commons, to desire the QUEEN to preserve the Port of Dunkirk, and keep it in her Hands, for the same Reasons alledged in that which prayed her Majesty to keep Possession of Ghent, Newport and Bruges. And as the faid Port would by this means escape the next Sessions of Parliament, they did not apprehend any farther Enquiries. It's necessary likewise to observe, that the French are making a new Causey from Lifle to Dunkirk; it is known to every Body that Dunkirk is the Port where all Goods and Merchandize from Life are fent to be embarked; these Goods are brought in Waggons, and a Caufey made for their more convenient paffing between Lifle and Dunkirk, which Caufey goes by Ipres; and confequently fince Ipres has been in the Dutch Hands, the faid Goods pay Le droit de transit. Therefore in order to avoid it, this new way is making from Lifle to Dunkirk, through that Part of the Country of Ipres which remains in the Possession of France. This Circumstance gives just Suspicion that they never mean to defroy the Port of Dunkirk; but if there were no other reason but that of their

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beginning the Demolition at the Side of the Land, contrary to the express words of the Treaty, that is sufficient for our utmost Jealousie. There are still eight Men of War from Fifty to Seventy Guns in the Bason, and all their Naval Stores; they talk indeed of fitting out their Ships, and fending them with the Stores. to Breft, but there are fo few Hands at work on them, that before they can be ready they will fee the Success of the Address they are ready to expect. The Guns and Parapets are taken away from the two Wooden Forts at the end of the Gettée; but this fignifies no more to the ruining of the Port, than the blowing up the Risbank has done, thefe Forts and the Risbank being only for the Defence of the Port against an Enemy; and as the Materials are laid up with the greatest Care, so they may be very easily and foon repaired. The Port of Dunkirk is formed by the running out of two Peer Heads, com-' monly called the fettees near a Mile into the Sea, and can never be totally ruined, unless the Foundation of the two wooden Forts at the end of the Peer Head or Jerrée be entirely destroyed, and that the Sluices be blown up, by which the Canals of Furnes, Bourbourg and St. Winoxberg, discharge themfelves into the Port, and by their fcouring hinder the Sand from choaking it COHD!

You may depend upon it this is the true State of the Affair of Dunkirk, which

r you

you willido Justice to your Country in Vol. Wi printing; this Point being of the last Confequence to its Wealth, Trade; and perhaps its Liberty

erhell!

10 I am, Sir, to fine and Conti-Your most bumble Serveres

About the Beginning of this Month, there was a current, Whilper, other, the Perion who Aslas-like has for above three Years inflain'd the Weight of Publick Affairs, entertain'd Thoughts, of having down his great Burthen, that he might in a peaceable Retreat, contemplate,upon the Good he had done, either for the Nation or at least Himfalf, and his Friends? Whether this Report had any real Foundation, the Compiler of this Monthly Collection will not take upon him to determine: But he cannot be for unjust to his Readers, as not to present, them with the elaborate Descant which the Celebrated Author of the EXANINER ble Speculation made upon it, in his Papen of the 16th on of the Exa-Instant, which was as follows: miner, on the

Hear abundance of People talk very Ministry. I freely of the Date and Reried of a Minstry; and some of those who spend their Judgments on this Subject, pretend to be as Zealous for the Government as any of their Neighbours, and to be as much in the Interest of those Great Patriots, whom Her Majesty has placed at the Helm of the State. In a Constitution, tolden.

Rumour, of 4

Vol. VI. ' tution, which hangs together by fo many 4 minute Parts, and which depends upon fuch Variety of Wheels and Motions, where Power and Freedom are in a perpetual Flux and Reflux, gaining ground eve-'ry Day upon each other, we must of necessity be liable to Turns and Contingencies, and in spite of the Maxims of Cardinal Richleien, be more in the Power of Fortune, than other People who " move in a lower Orb, and are Malters of no more Wildom and Policy, than e may serve to furnish them with the common Necessaries and Comforts of a retired Life. Confidering this great Uncertainty of a Free Some, and the many intricate Dependencies with which that System is incumber'd, every Minifer, in such a Service stands upon a Pinmade: and in the midst of all his Grandeur has a Sword hanging over his Head, and held back only by the precarious Force of a fingle Horfe-hair. The Smiles of a Sovereign, the Pavour of the Multitude, the Advice and Assistance of many wise and able Men united in the same publick Undertaking, and above all, the Blessing of Providence upon a just and honourable Cause, are mighty Supports, and will enfure the Possession of Power a long time, to those, who use it in the Pursuit of the many great Ends, for which it was entrusted to a few individuals, rather than to the Collective Body of Mankind. But even these Advanvantages have fail'd the wisest of our Species: Success has often baulk'd the · noblest

noblest Cause: The Hero has gone to the other World for his Triumph, and left his Enemies in possession of every Thing, but of that Posthumous Glory, which adorn'd an empty Name, after the Owner of it had fallen in the Cause of Virtue and Justice. This Uncertainty is redoubled, and becomes a perfect Lottery, where-ever Strife and Contention are let loose in a Nation, where Factions rage rage and worry one another, and even the Government it self is treated as a Party. Under these "Circumstances, a Ministry is oblig'd to act in another Capacity, than that which properly belongs to them: They must sometimes act like Military, as well as Civil Officers, draw forth their Forces, and appear at the Head of Squadrons and Battalions, whenever Faction takes the Field, and declares open War against them. There wants but very little of bringing Things, as they now stand, to this deplofable Crisis: We see the Government, both Majesty and Ministry, publickly Defam'd and Insulted: Every Man chuses his Side and his Leaders, without regard to Duty or Allegiance, and stands forth to meet the opposite Party, upon all Occasions, where Fattion is allow'd to play over the most dismal Scenes of Madness and Violence, without coming to an open Rupture, and breaking out into Overt acts of Treason and Murder. In this Case, if a Min.fry, by avoiding one Extream, will run into another, equally Dangerous; if whilst they generously decline fecuring themselves at the Hazard of the Publick Liberties, they grow Tame and insensible of Injuries, and suffer the Fermentation to get a head, and infect the whole Mass of the Body Politick, it ' is natural for their Enemies to take Advantage of this easie Disposition, and to keep up the Animosity widen the Division, and go on to make an Interest with the Mob, by vain Fears and false Alarms of Eee Danger;

Danger; till in some favourable Juncture, they wrest the Sword out of those Hands, which had so long borne it in vain.

The Possession of Power, amidst these Difficulties, is almost as great an Uncertainty as the Fortune of War, and stands exposed to as many Turns and 'Cross Accidents. Every Month produces a new Siege, or a Battle of Parties; and because Interest, not Honour, is the aim of the Aggressors, they, who have most to lose, are most apparently in danger. These Considerations amount to a full Proof, that the best of Patriots are more exposed to Mortality, as Ministers of State, then as Men; and yet the more Hazards they run, and the more · liable they are to Dissolution, the less possible is it for us to fix Dates to their Power, and affign a · Period to their Greatness, not asking Leave of the Prerogative, without a steady Train of wise Meafures, and an Uniformity in Conduct, exactly fitted to the Nature of the Constitution, and the Teme per of the People, it is impossible that any Minifry should be of long Duration: And yet even the Best of Men, thus qualified, and acting by these Principles, cannot promise to themselves, tho' with the Consent of the Crown, an uninterrupted Run and Series of Prosperity. There is a blind Chance, more fecret than any of their Counsels, which like their Evil Genius, haunts and incommodes them; and an unfeen Fatality mingles with their wifest Deligns, and often gives them an unhappy Turn, which no human Caution could foresee or prevent. For the Nature of Free States is such, that tho' the whole System be least exposed to final Overthrow, e yet by being over-curiously wrought, the several • Parts are more subject to frequent Alterations, than in any other Plan whatever. Besides, if we take in all Worldly Politicks at one general View, what,

Vol. VI. for November, 1713. in respect to our weak selves, we often call Chance, is, no doubt, in it felf, a diviner Principle, and may be term'd Providence: For the Great Governor of the World always intending either to Reward or Punish, tho' we know not which of those two Events is to take place, both of them being indifferent in this Life, therefore it is impossible for us to form such good Deligns, or doncert Measures so very wisely, but he can convert both to our Ruin and Confusion: And just of o it is impossible for our Enemies to lay Projects for our Destruction, and invent Schemes of Mischief, which he cannot make subservient to our Welfare and Happiness. As it was said of the Great Cofmo, Founder of the Tuscan State, That whilst he slept, or play'd, or was wholly un-active, Fortune, at the same time, was contri-' ving fuch Things for him, as fecur'd him in the Possession of whatever his Ambition aim'd at, whilst himself had all the Glory of those Events, as if manag'd by his own Wildom and Industry: So it may be as justly affirm'd of much greater ' Statesmen, that whilst they are buse in Council, toiling and sweating for the Publick, an unforeseen fatal Chance may turn the wisest of their Measures to their own and their Counc'try's Disadvantage. Such is the unavoidable Condition of State-Affairs; the least Defect in ' Point of Condoct, hazards the noblest Undertaking, and yet the highest Persection of Wisdom may however be follow'd by the most unlucky Events, and issue in Ruin and Confusion.

Such of my Fellow-Subjects as busy themselves in making Enquiries into the Age and Duration of the present Ministry, and in finding out its utmost Date and Period, whilft they profess to be Zealous Eec 2

for it's Honour and Interest, ought to change the Search, and look into their own Hearts for Truth

and Sincerity. They have certainly a Spice of the Whig, and do not know it. They delight in Chan-

ges and Revolutions, and want to see a Sett of new Faces at Court. If they envy'd those, who were got a Step or two above them, how well soever

they became their Honours, they will naturally receive a tacit Pleasure from being Witnesses to their Mortification. Or perhaps they are a little Piqu'd, because themselves and their Friends did not come fo far into Play as they expected; and therefore they would gladly see others disappointed for

6 Company. But whoever moves by any of these Springs, betrays a base corrupted Disposition, and is a Scandal to a good Cause, notwithstanding the · loudest and most sanguine Professions.

I must freely own, I cannot think of any remote & Probability, or even Possibility of a Change in the a present Ministry, without the most dreadful Appre-HORRIBLE EXPECTATIONS of the Whigs can be entertaining to that Party. I cannot think of this, without imagining new Burthens laid upon Great Britain, more in supportable than the Yoke she late. e ly flook off. I must suppose a new War broke out abroad, and perhaps another at home at the same Time; without being able to see an End of either. Time, the utmost Relief I can then hope for, is a short Interval of Ease now and then, from the Variety of Oppressions, and Multitude of Tyrants. We of Opproved and Multitude of Tyrants. We all know, how fast our Old Masters posted to the all Kill of their Ambition, and the Accomplishment Goal Ruin: What would they do, should they aof our get into the Chariot, now they are whetted e gain Anger and Disappointment, eager for Re-

. venge

venge, heated with fresh Rage, and have so many new Passions added to their former, to which both we and they are doom'd for Slaves, without Redemption? Their Measures are now broken, and their ablest Managers dispers'd; should they suddenly return to Power, in these shatter'd Circumflances, even their own unprepar'd Condition, and the Divisions that reign among them, would be an intolerable Plague to the State. Perhaps their Mars, whom they have made something more 'than a Demi-god, since he fell for them, would then think a Limited Throne too narrow for his Merit, as he is the Deliverer of Europe. He would scarce believe himself fecure, till we were all shackled at his Feet. and I question if he would ever more bear the Mee naces, or listen to the Republican Schemes of his Coadjutors of the Junta. The Queen, the Church, and the Hanover Succession, would then indeed be pass'd Danger: And tho' I cannot deny, but that there are 4 many Great and Able Men, among my Fellow-Sube jects, in the same Interest with the Present Ministry, and fit to fill the highest Posts of Trust and Honour; on which Account, I am somewhat the less concern'd for their Mortality; yet the Tryal at this Time is extremely dangerous, and may ferve to open an unhappy Breach, whereat all our old inveterate Foes * may enter and devour us. I am not for a Ministry, aony more than for a General, for Life: neither would I reckon this Point among the Fundamentals of our 'Government: But yet considering present Circum-'s stances, and the ticklish Nature of that Criss, which ' is now before us, I cannot forbear faying, that next to the Persons, who have an immediate interest in the Crown, these Men ought to be most Dear to us; onot io much out of Duty, as they are our Superiors, onor yet out of Gratitude, as they have been our Deliverers, as out of a Principle of Self-Interest, because

because they seem to be the only Mon, able and willing to compleat our Hapiness, and to settle it upon solid and lasting Foundations: And that therefore we ought to be as Jealous of their Honour, and as much concern'd for their Sasety, as they are for the Sasety and Honour of the State; and more a great deal than they are for their own.

I am not treating this Subject with any Regard to my own Fears, or those of my Friends; tho' perhaps with too much Regard to the Glamours of the Whigs. They may redouble their Noise and Fury, because the Ministry are out of their reach: And indeed, humanly speaking, and with all due Deference to Providence and Change, and to Whig and Tory, the Adorers of both, I cannot Foresee any Evil Accident, or Violence from bithout, which can shake or Overturn the Present Ministry. They have a vast Majority in the Legislature. The Clergy, Gentry and Populace, are entirely with them. The various Artifices and Attempts, that have been us'd to alienate their Affections, have only serv'd to expose the Authors of them to common Contempt and Resentment. The Whies secretly own, that they have surmounted the worst Difficulties: Their present Frenzy is all Affectation, a Proof of a baffled Gause, and the Language of Despair. We daily fee, what a hard shift they make, to hang together; what strong Cordials they prepare to keep up each other's Spirit, and with what wretched Delusions they buoy np a finking Faction, and pre-ferve an expiring Flame upon the Snuff, in Stink and Twilight. When they were in Power, it was necessary to the carying on of their Delign, that a good Queen should be made at least their Equal,

F Equal, if not their Inferior: For which Reason, they lower'd the Prerogative; and in any other Hands but Her Majesty's, had left it unable to exert it felf, in its own Defence. But it is the Security of the Present Ministry, that they are Governed by the Queen, and act as Creatures of the Preregative. The Great Elizabeth, whose Steps Her Majesty treads in, and marks with new Lnftre, had more Power over Her Ministers, than 4 all Her Predecessors; and being a perfect Judge of Men, was, for that very Reason, most confant in Her Favours to those, who had ferved " Her faithfully, and done most Good to the Publick. In fine, if there he any Danger of the present "Ministry, it must arise from among themselves, and they only are answerable for it: But we must have a care of Credulity, so long as there are Whigs, to Clamour and Whisper. Can we believe, that a few Factious Medlers shall be able to divide those, who know they have no other way left to subdue them? Can we think, that any private Suspicions should rest upon such Menas have acquitted every publick Trust so faithfully? Or can we suppose, that They should differ about Shares of Honour and Profit, who ' voluntarily undertook the greatest Toils, for the fake of hazarding all in the Service of their Country? When the Whigs Clamour with a little Confistency, one may profit by as much Attention: But by all the Facts and publick Occurrences extant, these Men seem to aim at the Character of the Great Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; of whom it is Recorded; That he never was out of Favour with his Prince, nor Unfortunate in any Undertaking.

I shall

I shall make no Comment on this Piece of Pelitical Oratory: But only historically observe, that it generally occasion'd various Resettions and Speculations; and, among a particular Set of Men, a Despair of seeing all the great Things accomplish'd which they expected. But to their unspeakable Comfort, the Author of the Examiner was pleased, not many Days after, to acquaint the World, that the foregoing Paper was only a BITE upon the Whigs; and that he design'd to make use, now and then, of the same Stratagem; and even to alarm, the Nation with a PLOT, or an INV ASION, when he should be in a Bantering Humour. Now, is not he a very Merry Fellow? Yes, but a very Shallow Pelitician; For, who will believe his next Shams?

FINIS.

S T A T E

GREAT BRITAIN,

With the

Most Material Occurrences in Europe. For the Month of December, 1713.

Containing in Particular,

I. An Abstract of a Book call'd, TREASON UNMASK'D, &c. in Answer to a Book intituled, The HEREDITARY RIHGT, afferted, &c. Containing a short History of the SUCCESSION from Edward the Confessor to this Time, with all the Acts relating to the present Settlement of the Crown.

II. A faithful and exact Account of the Proceedings of Both Houses of the Parliament, and of the Convocation of Ireland.

III. REMARKS and Observations on the Resolutions of the House of Commons of Ireland, relating to the Lord Chancellor PHIPPS, with Remarks on his Lordship's Speech fan. 16. 1712: By a Member of the House of Commons.

IV. A Compleat List of Both Houses of the Parliament of

Ireland.

V. The CONTENTS of this and the Five preceding Months, Compleating the Sixth Volume, of the Political States.



LONDON:

Printed for JOHN BAKER, at the Black-Boy in Pater-Nosler Row 1713. (Price One Shilling and Six Pence.) where may be had compleat Sets bound up in 6 Volumes, with a fine Frontispiece, or each Month single, from January 1710-11.



THE

POLITICAL STATE

FOR

The Month of DECEMBER, 1713.

London, Dec. 31. 1713.

Sik,



Aving, in our Journal for Vol. VI. the Month of October last. presented our Readers with a fathful Abstract of the Book call'd, The Hereditary Right of the Crown of

England afferted, &c. it now becomes us to take Notice of another Book lately publish'd, intitled, TREASON UNMASK'D. or THE QUEEN'S TITLE, THE REVO-LUTION, and the HANOVER SUCCESSION, VINDICATED, against the Treasonable Positions of a Book intitled, The Hereditary Right, &c. Be no an Abstract of the Said with Remarks and Observations. This Book, which is faid to be printed and F f f

Vol. VI. fold by the Bookfellers of London and Westminster, contains 280 Pages of a Small Letter, in Octavo; of which above Three Parts in Four being bestow'd on the Abfratt of the Book the Author undertakes to answer, one would, at first Blush, be apt to imagine that his main Design was rather to spread than to confute it; a Stratagem not unufual with fome Authors and Booksellers: But the REMARKS evidently shew, that the Author was in good Earnest.

Abstract of a Book call'd TREASON Unmask'd.

Before we enter, says he, upon a Particular Examination of the Book, it will not be amiss to bestow a few general Observations on the Authors, and Design of this elaborate Performance. If we can rely on the Credit of the Title Page, we must believe it to be written by a Gentleman; and indeed, the Style, and genteel Air that shines through the whole Piece, Thews it to be the Work of a Man of Parts, and Liberal Education. But then if we consider the Person who seems to father it by his owning the Handing it to the Press, together with the Multitude of Quotations, that argue a deeper Knowledge in History, the Law, and Diwinity, than any Single Man can probably be Master of, we shall not scruple to be-· lieve common Fame and private Informations, both which agree, that 'tis the Product of the Joint-Labours of the most eminent Nonjurors and Jacobite Writers, who have all contributed to the Rearing 'up this Mighty (and as their Party give out

out Impregnable Fortress, in order to oppose, and batter down the Present Settlement of these Nations. That several Hands have furnished different Materials will yet appear to be something more than a bare Conjecture, if we nicely view the Conteseture: For tho' the Stone be well cut, the Wood well plained, the Ornaments well carv'd; yet there is a Defect in the Cement, which renders feveral Cracks and " Crevices obvious to the Eye: And, indeed, the whole Fabrick consists of so many Heterogeneous and Garring Parts, that 'twas difficult, if not impossible, for the best Artist to tack them well together. leave the Metaphor; this Book contains a great Variety of Historical Facts, Positions, and Arguments, couch'd in an elegant, flowing Style; but then there are in it so many glaring Contradictions and Inconsistencies, that 'tis hardly credible, the whole Piece mould be the Work of any one Man. For here any tolerably attentive Reader may find Hifto-'ry, clashing with History; Law, destroying Law; and Divinity, resuting Divinity, in Cases exactly Parallel: A Fault 1 will not charge upon any single Person, till I am convinced that a too favourable Opinion of Gentlemen and Men of Letters, led me into a Mistake.

A manifest Contradiction will instantly appear upon Comparing the Title and seeming Design, with the Contents of the Book. The Design, if we believe the Title Page, is to assert the Hereditary Right of the Crown of England, to clear the History of the Succession, since the Conquest, and to vindicate the true English Constitution: But if we examine the Contents, we will find, That the Authors set up Hereditary Right in one Place, and pullist down in another. That according to them, sometimes a Resignation (tho' it be but a tacit one) and, that at other Times, a Will and Testament makes a legal Fff 2

Settlement of the Crown. The Truth is, their real Design is to open a Gate for the Precender to enter 'at: Whether it be by an HEREDITARY, a CESSIONARY, or TESTAMENTARY Right, is none of their Concern. To make Room for his Entrance, is the only Object and Subject-Matter of their Labour; in order to which they boldly frun down and trample under Foot all Parliamentary Right; charge the whole Nation with Treason and Rebellion; arraign our late ever glorious Deliverer "King WILLIAM, of Usurpation; and would 'involve our Present most Excellent and Rightful Sovereign in the same Traiterous Accusation, but that, with the Help of Jesuitical Morals, they think is Prudence to absolve Her, tho' upon no other Terms, than the Supposal of an Intention to secure the Crown to the Right Owner. Thus much for the Authors, and the general Delign of the Book; let's now particularly animadvert upon their · Performance.

Their first setting out (p. 1.) is somewhat ominous: For, it seems, they sumble at the very
Threshold. They pretend, That the first Time that
the Duty of paying Allegiance to Powers in Possession,
began to be taught publickly in this Kingdom, was during the Osurpation, which succeeded the Death of K.
Charles I. But the Authors themselves acquaint us
that this Distinction between Kings de Jure, and
Kings de Fasto, or which is the same, of Kings in
Deed, and not of Right, was known several Ages
before, as appears from their own Words and Quotations, p. 220, 239, 232, 248, 249, 252,
and several other Places; to which I may add, My
Lord Bacon's History of Henry VII. p. 1. & seq.

The Authors are not more happy in their next Affertion (p 2.) That the Revolution (in 1688.) was begun, carry'd on, ended, and justified on these Grounds,

Grounds, that Allegiance was not due to all Kings in Possession; That King James was lawfully deprived. That K. William and Queen Mary were lawfully put into Possession, &c. For the main Argument and Foundation upon which the Lords did, on the 6th of February 1688-9, come to this Resolution, That the Prince and Princess of Orange shall be declared King and Queen of England, and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging, was the VACANCY of the Throne.

The same Reasons which induced the Lords and Commons to declare the Throne Vacant, were set down at large in the Declaration, which on Feb.

13th was presented by Both Houses to the Prince and Princess of Orange, and which was afterwards digested into an Act (1 W. and M.) Nor does it any where appear that either the Convention, or any Subsequent Parliament justified the Revolution on this Ground, That Allegiance is not due to all Kings in Possession: Which is the Second Error, or false Assertion, I shall take the Liberty to charge on the Authors.

Before I proceed, I must advertise my Readers, That I do not take upon me to expose and consute the small Cavils of the Authors against Dr. Higden; not doubting but that Learned Divine will detect and defeat the Sophistry of his Adversaries and vindicate himself much better than I can pretend to do. I shall therefore little concern my fels in the strain'd Consequences the Authors draw (p. 5 & 6) from his Assertions about the Usurper Cromwell: Yet I cannot but observe, that they entertain a very mean Opinion either of his Learning or Judgment, in supposing He can maintain that the Three Estates have a Power to depose Lawful Kings: But if the Doctor should affirm, That the Three Estates have a Lawful Power to set aside, depose, or abdicate a Tyrant, a Mad-man, or an Idiot, and place a Prince of the

Royal Line, tho' not next in Blood, in the Throne, he should not want Precedents, either at Home or Abroad, to bear him out. Instances of this Kind are so frequent and so notorious, that I shall not detain my Readers by reciting them here.

Neither shall I take Notice of what the Authors object (p. 9.) against Dr. Higden's Assertion, that our Lord does determine the Lawfulness of Subjection to the Roman Emperor, for this one Reason; namely, that he was in Possession of the Government: Because that Objection will come under Consideration in a properer Place, I hasten to the main Queflion; whether. (p. 10.) the Kingdom of England be HEREDITARY? Or whether it belongs to every one, who gets Possession? Whether the Kingdom appertains to Lawful Heirs, or Altual Possessors ?---Dr. Higden in his View and Defence acknowledges that the Crown is Hereditary, but then he afferts that the Inheritance may be limited by Parliament; that a King placed on the Throne by the States of the Realm, 13 a True and Lawful King for the Time being; That either Queen Mary or Queen Elizabeth, one or bosh were Illegitimate, and yet had a Lawful Title; And that it is our Saviour's Dollrine, that Subjection is due to Possession, and by the Law of Nature to Protection. Now the Authors, whose Business it is to overthrow a System, which accounts for and vindicates the late happy Revolution, and to shew that not so much as Submission to it, after it was made, was Lawful, pretend (p. 11.) That the English Monarchy (like thoje of France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, and all other Hereditary Dominions in the World) is entail'd in one Family, and descends successively to the Lineal Heirs. Such, add they, is the English Monarchy, govern'd fuccessively above Nine Hundred Years by the same Royal Family. Here's a plain, positive, and express L Definition

Definition of the English Monarchy, by which a Chinese, a Tartar, or any other Foreigner, abso-'lutely ignorant of our History, would be apt to imagine, That for the Space of 900 Years the Crown of England has continued in one Family, and descended in a direct Line to the next Heir in Blood: Than which nothing was ever more No orionfly False. Nor do I want any Authorities to prove it; fince the Authors themselves own, That there have (p. 12.) been many Interruptions in this Lineal Succession: Some by the Cession of the next Heir; others by Testaments; others by Conquest; and othe s by false Pretence of Inheritance: But as Right has been always pretended, fo all notorious Violations of Right were condemn'd, at the Time, by all Good Men, and rejected after by the whole Nation; which has always restor'd the Rightful Heirs, &c. Now, I'd fain ask any Reasonable 'Man, what's become of the Authors Definition of our Hereditary Monarchy? Where's their Lineal Sucression of the Rightful Heirs for Nine Hundred Years? The Species of Things, according to the Authors, is determin'd by their constant Nature; now if I can demonstrate that in all the various Changes that have happen'd in the Succession of England, all Titles what loever were look'd upon as procarious, till they were confirm'd by Parlia nent, I hope I may confidently affirm, that the CONSTITUTION of England is an Hereditary Monarchy LIMITED by · PARLIAMENT.

To make good this Definition of our excellent Constitution, and, at the same Time, vindicate the late Revolution, and the Protestant Succession in the most Illustrious and most Screne House of Hanover, I shall desire my Readers to observe, That whether the People of England had ever practised it or no, yet it has been, now is, and always will be their Right to dispose of themselves in the Manner they

" shall think most conducing to the securing their Liberty and their Wealth, and to procure their Happiness in any other Respect: But they have 'likewise acted upon this Principle, ever since they were known to be a Nation; and if, at any time, they found themselves deceiv'd in the Person, or 'mistaken in the Form, they seldom fail'd immediately to apply the proper Remedies, either to recify past Errors, or prevent future Inconveniencies. This is the true Occasion of the many (p. 12.)
Changes that have been in the Succession of England; to this are owing Magna Charta, and the other Legal Fences of the Liberties and Properties of the Sub-' ject. And hence their Ignorance or Calumny may be confuted, who account us the most changeable Nation in Europe; for the there have been divers Temporary Constitutions, if so they may be "call'd; yet never was there a Nation more constant either in their Love of LIBERTY, or in the Pursuit of the Means, to attain, and preserve it. Moreover, our Manner of constituting the Chief Magistrate, is the laudable Medium between Two most vicious Extreams, viz. Election and Lineal Succession: For to elect the Sovereign anew upon every King's Death or Demise, would expose us to all the Uncertainty, Broyls, Confusions, Bribery, and other Mischiefs so frequent in Elective Kingdoms; and on the other Hand, to make the Succession absolutely Hereditary, would subject us, without Remedy, to be govern'd by Tyrants, Madmen, Fools, or Idiots. Therefore, in all Ages, our constant Custom and Practice has been, to limit the Succession under Conditions to a certain Line, for Avoiding all the 'Contests and Disturbances at frequent Elections; and yet to reserve a Power of excluding the next in Blood, if under any Incapacity of Reigning, or, tho' capable, yet sometimes not so sit as a Worthier in the fame Family; and very often, for great and important Reasons, quite to transfer the Right of Succession from one Line to another. This is so evident by our Laws, and so express in our Histories, that no Englishman can be suppos'd to be ignorant of it: And there. fore 'tis the highest Piece of Immodesty for the Authors to advance, That the English Monarchy is Hee reditury, and has descended to the Lineal Heirs of it for the Space of above Nine Hundred Years. The Authors urge, That (p. 12.) those temporary Constitu-tions fell upon a Rock; and none of them lived so long asto gain the Title of Prescription: Whereas the Tree of Hereditary Right has been several Times cut down to the Ground; but the Stump of the Roots in the Earth has grown up again, and has reach'd unto Heaven. But if by tracing up the Succession as ' high as the Authors do, viz. to Edward the Confeffor, I can evince, That those Kings from whom the Authors deduce their absolute Hereditary Right, had themselves either no Right at all, or only a Parliamentary Title: I hope we hall (p. 13.) hear on more either of their Chimerical Prescription of Nine Centuries, or their Visionary continual Claim of 550 Years; and that, on the contrary, it will appear, That the Parliamentary Right is the only Right, that can claim Prescription.

'So little was either the Lineal Hereditary Succession or the last Wills and Testaments of the preceding Kings valued in the Saxon Time, that we hear almost of every King's Election before his Coronation. EDWARD, for his Piety Sirnamed the CONFESSOR, the last of the Saxon Race, did not succeed Hardicanute the Dane by Birth-Right, for the true Heir, viz. Edward his Nephew, Son to his Elder Brother Edmund Ironside, and Father to EDGAR ATHELING was laid aside. Twas so notorious, That Edward the Confessor had no Natural Right, Ggg

Vol. VI. 416 The POLITICAL STATE that Ailred Abbot of Rival, endeavour'd to give him a Supernatural and Divine Title, by a Monkish Dream which declared, he was elected, when in his Mother's Womb: But if it had been true, that Election was Vacated by the Interpolition of Edmond Ironfide, and the Succession of Three Danish Kings. The Truth is, Edward, Son to King Ethelred by Queen Emma, was as Ingulfus, a contemporary Writer, informs us, (a) Chosen King By All; chiefly through the interest of the Earl Godwin, whose Daughter the Confessor afterwards married; and in 4 Hopes and Consideration of which Match, that treacherous Earl stickled so much for Edward's ELECTION. I call that Earl treacherous, because he was the unhappy Instrument of Alfred, that King's Brother, losing his Eyes, according to Henry of Huntingdon, and even his Life, according to others (b). That Edward the Confessor was not advanc'd to the Throne by Hereditary Right, ap-Dears not only from the Historians already quoted, but also from William Monk of Malmesbury; for tho' when he speaks of his Accession to the Crown. he only tells us, that Regnum (c) suscepie, that is, he undertook the Kingdom; yet the same Author afterwards (d) gives us to understand, That, when this King faw Old Age coming on apace, confidering that he had no Issue, and that Earl Godwin's Sons grew into Power and Credit, he fent to the "King of Hungary, to desire him, that he would

" fend him his Brother Edmund's Son, called Edward. "with all his Family." 'For this Edward had been

kindly entertain'd by that King, after his Expul-' fion

⁽a) Post ejus Obitum omnium ELECTIONE in Edwardum concordatur, maxime cobortante Godwino Comite. Ingulphi Hist p. 62.
(b) Flor. Wigor. Chron. p. 623. (c) W. Malmesb. de Gest.
Reg. Ang. 1. 2. C. 13. p. 79. (d) Id. ibid. p. 93.

fion by Canute, and (according to John Bromton's Chronicle) that Hungarian King had bestow'd his

Neice Agatha, Daughter to his Brother Henry,

Emperor of Germany, on the faid Edward, call'd the Outlaw, as being the true Heir of the English

Crown. Pursuant to Edward the Confessor's Invitation, his Nephew Edward the Outlaw return'd with

his Family; and the Confessor declared, That either he (Edward the Outlaw) or his Sons should succeed to

the Hereditary Kingdom of England (these are the

express Words of William of Malmesbury) and be a

comfortable Supply for his Want of Issue.

But Ingulphus, who was some Time Secretary to William the Conqueror) tells us, (e) "That Edward the Confessor (who much cherish'd the Normans, in whose Country he had been brought up) seeing Edgar the Son of Edward the Outlaw, lately deceased, not fit for Government, either as to Body or Courage; and withal, that the numerous wie-46 ked Family of E. Godmin daily encreased, he turn'd 44 his Thoughts towards his Kinsman William, Duke of Normandy, and folemnly decreed, that he " should succeed him in the Kingdom of England." Here was an Exclusion of the Right Heir with a Witness! A King, who had no Title to the Crown by Lineal Descent, to give it away after his Death, from one who had the best Title, and to one who

was Illegitimate, and consequently (according to the Affertors of Hereditary Right, p. 11.) of Blood to none in Law, Nullius Filius, and who there-

fore could not inherit: And yet this is the Founda-

tion, on which the Authors I have undertaken to

confute, build their imaginary System of Absolute

HEREDITARY RIGHT!

' The Ggg 2

⁽a) Ingulphi Hist. p. 68.

'The Authors take upon them to clear K. Edward the Confessor from the Charge of Usurpation, on his supposed Intention of Securing the Crown to the Right Heir, Edward the Outlaw, or his Son Edgar, whom he fent for from Hungary for that Purpose: But how will they reconcile such an Intention, either with his Testament by which Duke William, claim'd the Crown, or with his Death-Bed Declaration, by which Harold assumed it? Let them, with all their Art and Eloquence, resolve this Dilemma, if they can: For my Part, I shall at present content my self to lay down this undeniable Polition, That EDGAR the RIGHT HEIR of the Crown was Excluded from it, and Harold. who had not the least Shadow of a Title, thrust himfelf into the Throne, and was solemnly crown'd by Aldred, Archbishop of York.

'Tis true, Ingulphus, William of Malemsbury, · Florentius, Bromton Abbot of Joreval, and other Hiftorians, differ in their Accounts of Harold's Accession to the Crown; and Bromton, in particular, tells us that upon the Death of the Confessor some of the English Nobility attempted to make Edgar King: But all do agree in this, that by Harold's Advancement to the Throne, the Hereditary Suce cession was wholly laid aside by the Major Part of the Nation, who according to William of & Malemsbury, debated only whether they should submit to him, or to Duke William. On the other Hand, we must observe, that this Harold was the only Person, who from King Egbert's Time was Possessor of the English Throne, without being descended of

the Royal Blood of Cerdic, excepting the Three

Danish Princes: For in all other Deviations from • the

† Wil. of Malmesb. De Wil. I. J. 3. p. 99.

the Direct Line, still the Royal Family was had in Consideration, so that one or other was SELECTED to sit upon the Throne of his Ancestors; which was ' likewise observed in all Subsequent Deviations. Nor does this Case of Harold favour Usurpations of Strangers to the Blood Royal, for according to the Historians beforemention'd, Harold was advanc'd to the Throne rather by Force, than by Election; and consequently cannot, in a strict Sense, be produced as an Example of the Latter. 4 All that I contend for here, is that Edgar, the undoubted Rightful Heir, was laid aside a Second "Time. Duke William, fond of those ambitious Hopes he had framed early, and nourish'd * long, and fpighted at the perfidious Dealing of Harold towards him, and his Insolence towards the Ene glish Nation, in seizing the Crown and Govern-e ment against all Justice, or so much as Pretence of Right, resolv'd to prosecute his Claim with his utmost Power; and being assisted with Men and Money both by his own Subjects, and by many foreign Princes, made mighty Preparati-ons for his intended Expedition, and landed ' at Hastings in Suffex, about the Beginning

Manner for about a Fortnight; either to refresh his Troops or to expect how his Claim to the Crown, and Arrival upon it, would be receiv'd in England. But he was soon rouzed by the Approach of Harold, who return'd from the Deseat of his Brother and his Danish Assistants, with all

October 1066. There he continued in a quiet

the standing Troops he brought off from his dearbought and bloody Victory at Stamford, and all

^{*} Sir W. Temple, Introd. to the Hift. of Eng. p. 106, & feqq.

he could invite or collect out of the Country as he pass'd. And here we may Observe, That tho' Harold was a known Usurper, cruel in his Nature, of Danish Extraction, and thereby ungrateful to the English; a Hater of his own Blood, and who had never triumph'd but over his own Brother; yet notwithstanding all these Disadvantages, he was able to assemble a mighty Army, to oppose Duke William's Invasion, and find above 60000 Men, brave enough to lose their Lives in his Defence; for so many are agreed to have been slain of the English at the Battle of Hastings, where he lost his Crown and his Life together: Than which nothing more shews both the Greatness of England at this Time, and the Reverence the Nation ever ' paid to the Possessor of the Crown.

"Harold's Overthrow and Death made a fad and ftrange Change in the Scene of English Affairs; for 'tho' after that great Slaughter some chose Edgar for their King, and seem'd willing to advance him to the Throne, yet that Design soon fell to the Ground. In the mean Time, William, Duke of · Normandy, justly, from his Victory and ensuing Fortunes, stiled the Conqueror, went burning and destroying all before him; till Alfred, Archbishop of York, Walstan Bishop of Worcester, Edgar Atheling, the Chief of the Nobility and of the Londoners, with feveral others, submitted themfelves, and fwore Allegiance to him. By this Ree volution the Royal Blood of the Saxons was not only rejetted and excluded for ever, but the Succession fix'd upon another Basis: For, according to Olden-burgher (in the Second Part of his Thesaurus rerum publicarum) tho' William the First seem'd to enjoy the Kingdom by the Title of Conquest, yet he founded his Right upon the Election of the People; being after his Victory created and elected by the ' Consent Consent of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commonses As for his Leaving the Kingdom to his Son William Rufus, by WILL, the same Author makes no mention of it, but rather asserts the contrary, quoting out of an old Book, call'd Liber Cadomensis, or the Book of Caen in Normandy, these very Words of the Conqueror's Will and Testament, viz. Neminem Regni Angliæ constitue Haredem; non enim tantum Decui Heraditario Jure possed: That is, I appoint no Heir to the Kingdom of England; for I did not enjoy so great a Dignity by Hereditary Right.

'Thus I have proved by the most authentick and most irrefragable Testimonies, that the Two Princes from whom the Authors of the Book, which is the Subject of these Remarks, derive the Notion of Abfolute Hereditary Right (viz Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror) had no fuch Right themfelves; and consequently that they neither could, nor did transmit such a Title to their Posterity. And having thus overthrown and batter'd to Pieces the Falle Hypothesis of our Adversaries, let us take a Curfory View of the Succession, from William the Conqueror to this Time, by which it will evi-dently appear. First, That the Crown is not a Lie neal Inheritance; Secondly, That it cannot be aliena-· ted, made over, or bequeathed, by any Single · Deed, Resignation, or Will and Testament of the Prince, without an express Consent and Sanstion of the States, or Parliament: And, consequently, 'that according to our Definition, the Crown of England is an Inheritance limited by Parliament.

'Whether William the first of the Norman Race' made a Will or no, is not very material: For his Second Son, WILLIAM RUFUS' had so little Regard to it, that he rather chose to have his Title confirm'd by the People; which after a long Consultation, was done by a general Assembly of their

their Representatives, convened at Westminster, and so his Eldest Brother Robert was excluded from 4 the Succession. Nor were the People wanting in maintaining the Right they gave him, against all the Attempts of the Normans, or any other Abettors of Duke Robert, who was a second time reie-Aed by reason of his Aversion to the English Nation, and the Cruelty of his Disposition: Whereas on the third Son HENRY's promising to restore the ancient Liberties of the Nation, and to abrogate fome fevere Laws which the Father had made. the People consented to make him King. He dying, his Daughter MAUD, the Empress, was e laid aside, and Stephen, Earl of Bologne, Son to "Adela the Conqueror's Daughter, was by the Confent of the Clergy and People of England elected King, tho' his Eldest Brother Theobald, Earl of Bloir, was then alive. He afterwards adopted Henry the fecond for his Heir, tho' William, a Son of his own, was then living, and HENRY was accordingly declared the Successor in Parliament, notwithstanding the previous Right of his Mother. To him succeeded RICHARD the first, confirm'd in the Succession during his Father's Life, and on his Death folemnly Elected by the States of the Realm. Having dy'd without Issue, ARTHUR, the Son of his next Brother, ought to have fucceeded hereditarily; but JOHN, his younger Brother, was prefer'd before him: At whose Coroanation, HUBERT, the Archbishop of Canterbury, deliver'd for found Doctrine, that no Body had any Title to the Crown who was not unanimously elested by the whole Kingdom; and that if any of the deceas'd King's Family was more worthy than the rest, they ought more willingly and speedily consent to his Ele-" Gion: So that the deserving Persons of the Royal 'Family were only preferable to other Men of Me-، ۲it.

Vol. VI. for December, 1713. 423 rit. JOHN was afterwards depos'd for degeenerating into a Tyrant, and LEWIS the French King's Son, elected in his Room; but attempting to introduce ARBITRART POWER, contrary to the Terms on which the Crown was fet on Head, and for discovering a Design of extirpating the very Name of the English, he was, by unani-mous Consent of the Nation, expell'd the Island, and HENRT the third sletted to reign. After him came EDWARD the first, tho' the House of LANCASTER always maintain'd, that his Brother Edmund was the eldest, only for 4 the Deformity of his Body made uncapable to wear the Crown. To Boward the first succeeded his Son EDWARD the second, who growing an intolerable Tyrant, was in a Parliament summon'd by himself, formally accus'd of Misgovernment, and on his own Acknowledging the Truth of this Charge, folemnly depos'd. When his Son Edward the thind was elected with universal Consent, Walter, the Archbishop of Centerbury, preach'd the Coronation Sermon, and took these Words for his Text, Vex Populi, Vex Dei; The Voice of the People is the Voice of God: So little did they dream
in those Days of the Divine Right of Monarchy; or that all Power did not originally derive from the People; for whom and by whom all Governments are erected and maintain'd. In this King's Life time, Richard, the Son of the Black Prince, was constituted the Successor; who after he came to reign, degenerated into a Tyrant, and was compell'd to. e relign the Crown and Government to the States of the Kingdom. Hereupon the Parliament elected Henry the fourth, who had no Hereditary Title (as he once pretended) from Henry the third, since there was still in Being the Issue of Lionel, Duke of Cla ence, third Son to Henry the third; whereas · Henry Hhh

Vol. VI. The POLITICAL STATE Henry the fourth was descended from John of Gausse, the fourth Son. There was an Att in his time to fettle the Succession, whereby the Crown was limited to the Heirs of his Body and their Issue respectively, being after the Extinction of his Family to be disposed by the States. But it appears from what follow'd, and is evident from the Nature of the Thing, that fuch Settlements suppose, where they do not express the Well-governing of the King, that Parliaments referve a Power to themselves of restraining the Exorbitancy of Princes, and even deposing Tyrants. To Heary the fourth succeeded his Son Henry the fifth, in the Reign of whose Son, Henry the fixth, there was made a new Limitation of the Crown; for the' he had a Son living, yet it was enalted that he shou'd enjoy the Crown during his Life, and that Richard, Duke of York, shou'd be Heir apparent; that on the Death or Resignation of Henry, the Crown was e limited in Remainder to Richard and his Heirs, with a Proviso, that if Henry, or any in his behalf, fhou'd endeavour to frustrate this Act, that then Richard shou'd have the present Possession of the Throne. Accordingly the Duke of Tork attempted to possess himself of the Crown by Virtue of this A&, alledging that Henry had broke the Conditions; and his Son Edward did actually get himfelf created King, pretending to no other Title but what he had by the said Ast of Limitation. Edward

what he had by the faid Act of Limitation. Edward the fourth being driven out of his Kingdom, the Parliament did again intail the Crown on Henry the Sixth and the Heirs Male of his Body, with the Remainder to George, Duke of Clarence, Brother to Edward the fourth, who was also declar'd Heir to Richard, Duke of York. Thus you see all Titles of Blood, Inheritance, Gift, or Conquest, dispens'd with by Acts of Parliament; and Election not only the most

frequent, but the most firm Basis and Support of the

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Roval Throne. Both the Houses of York and Lancaster paid such a Deference to the Power of the People, as to claim by Acts of Parliament; and fafter Edw. IV. had recover'd the Kingdom, he got the Law repeal'd, which was made during his Expulsion, and left the Crown to his Son Edward the fifth. But his Uncle Richard, Duke of Glocester, having fecur'd this Young Prince and his other Ne-6 phew in the Tower, and having persuaded the Nation they were not Legitimate, alledging that Edw. the Fourth had another Wife living at the Time of his Marriage with their Mother, he was elected King, as Heir to Richard, Duke of York, on whose -Issue the Crown was intailed, as aforesaid, by Authocrity of Parliament. But having barbarously mur-der'd his Nephews, he was so universally detested for this Black Deed (tho' otherwise none of the worst Kings) that the Nation was resolv'd no longer to yield him Obedience; fo they fet up against him Henry, Duke of Richmond, who had no Manner of Right in the World; or in case his 'Title had been good, yet his Mother was still li-'ving, tho' his Claim must be as her Heir. This he knew as well as any Body, and so neither ree lying on his own nor the Title of Elizabeth his Queen, much less on that of Conquest, from the Vi-'ctory which the People of England gain'd at Bosworth-Field, he procur'd himself to be confirm'd in his Kingship by Act of Parliament, for avoiding ' (as that Law has it) of all Ambiguity and Questions; whence it follows that this Prince believ'd an All of ' Parliament could limit, transfer, supersede, or annul all other Titles whatsoever. In the 25th Year of the Reign of his Son Henry VIII. an Act pass'd wherein the Parliament faid, They were bounden to provide for the perfect Surety of the Succession: And accordingly they entail the Crown on Hep. the VIII. and the Hhh 2

Heirs of his Body by Queen Anne, and their Heirs according to the Course of Inheritance, and for Default of fuch liffue, to the Sons of his Body in like manner; and onthe Failure of these to the Lady Elizabeth; after her to any other Issue in Tail; and then the Remainder is limited to the Right Heirs of Henry the Eighth. Some Years afterwards this Act was repeal'd, and the Parliament intail'd the *Crown on the King, and the Heirs of his Body by Queen "Jane. A Power is also given the King, in case he has no H-" fue, to dispose of the Succession by his WILL or LETTERS PATENT; Which shews, That Henry the Eight was only a Truftee appointed by the Parliament; and it makes their Power to be the greater, that they can at Pleasure delegate it to another. There was afterwards an Ac made, that after his Death, and the Death of Prince EDWARD, without Issue, the Crown · · fhou'd descend to the Lady MARY and the Heirs of her. Body, subject to such Conditions as the King should appoint; and on the Nonperformance of the Conditions, that the Crown shou'd go to the Lady ELIZABETH, as if MARY had been dead without Issue: and that if ELIZABETH neglected to fulfill the Conditions, then it shou'd go to such other Persons as the King should appoint. EDWARD the Sixth succeeded his Father, and took on him to dispose of the Crown (as the Authors of Hereditary Right, infinuate the Q may do) by his last Will; being ill advis'd by his Ministers, who shou'd have got this done in Parliament: But this being no Act of the Nation, nor authoriz'd by their Representatives, his eldest Sifter MARY succeeded; and after her the renown'd Queen ELIZABETH, according to the Limitations of the Statute made in the 35 H. VIII. 'Tis agreed by all, that one of the Sisters cou'd have no other Title but this Act; for Queen CATHERINE was alive when ELIZABETH was born. Now if her Marriage was unlawful. MARY was not Legitimate; and no more was Q. ELIZABETH, if the Marriage of Queen ANNE was not 'Valid. In the first Year of Queen Elizabeth the Parliament made a Recognition of her Title, founded on the before mention'd Act of Limitation, 35 Hen. VIII. In her thirteenth Year it was enacted, That if, during ber Life,

any Person claim'd a Title to the Crown for binnest, or any other, or refus'd, on Demand, to acknowledge her Right, be show'd be disabled during his Life, to have the Crown in Succession, as if he were naturally dead. &c. This Statute makes it also TREASON, during the Life of the Queen, and Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels after her Decease, to affirm That the Queen, with and by the Antherity of Parliament, is not able to make Lutos and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and hind the Crown of this Realm, and the Descent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof; or that this, or any other Statute made by Parliament, with the Queen's Affent, is not, or ought not to be for ever of sufficient Force to bind and govern all Persons, their Rights and Titles, that may claim any Interest or Possibility in or to the Crown, in Possession, Remainder, Inheritance, Suecession, or otherwise. There can be nothing more express about the Power of Parliaments, with relation to the Succesfien, and to show the World that the Parliament of Eng. in the Ast for the further Limitation of the Crown (12 and 13 W. III. and other Statutes to the same Purpose) was guilty of no Innovation, but only apply'd the Fundamental Rules of our Constitution to particular Persons, for those Ends which they are intrusted by the Nation, to promote and secure. In the 27th of Queen Elizabeth it was enacted, That all Invalions, Rebellions, or other Practices disco-" ver'd and adjudg'd against her, by, for, or with the Privity of any one who pretended a Title to the Crown, all " fuch Persons should be excluded, and disabled for ever to have, or claim the Crown. By Virtue of some Clauses in this Statute, MARY, Queen of Scotland, was afterwards executed; and her Son was so sensible of the Force of this · Law that he pretended to no Manner of Title during the · · Life of Q. ELIZABETH, who would never fuffer him to be declar'd her Succeffor. The Act of Recognition made on King James's coming to the Throne, particularly infifts on the Act of Parliament made in Favour of HENRY VII. whereby he came in as Heir to that Entail, the Issue of "Honry the VIII. being extinct in Queen Elizabeth. King James succeeded his Son Charles the First, the Histo-'ry of whose troublesome Reign and tragical Death is known to every Body. His Son CHARLES the Se-**€**ond

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cond enjoy'd the Crown for his Life; but there were feveral Attempts made to exclude his Brother the Duke of YORK from fucceeding him. The Reasons for this Proceeding were so cogent, just, and universally convincing, that the Commons of England, in Parliament affembled, did pass their Bill; tho' the Artifices and the Influence of the Court, as well as the mistaken Notions of all the Bishops. and of some Temporal Peers, made it be rejected by the Lords. But the Evil Day was only put a little farther off, for in three Years and some odd Months Reign, he made 'fuch Havock of all Laws, drove so suriously at setting up Popery, and appear'd to be so firmly leagu'd with the King of France, the natural Enemy to England, that, at last, the whole Nation role up in Arms against him, and call'd in the Prince of ORANGE to their Affistance; whereupon he abdicated the Government, which by the Conevention of the States was settled on King WILLIAM and Queen MARY by the Act (before quoted, I VV. and M. Seff. 2. cap. 2.) for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and settling the Succession of the Crown. "This Act declares the Violation of the Rights and Liber-"ties of the Subjects of England by the late King James "and his Evil Counsellors, and their Design to extitpate our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and fettles the Crown " upon King VVilliam and Queen Mary; Remainder to the "Heirs of the Body of Queen Mary; Remainder to Her "present Majesty and Her Heirs; and Remainder to the "Heirs of King VVilliam, excluding all Papifts, or Persons "marrying Papilts; in which Cale, the Crown to de-" scend to the next Protestant in the Settlement." The Ad-"ministration was only in King WILLIAM, tho' Queen MARY was among us the acknowledg'd Heir of the late King; and tho' his other Daughter, Her present Majesty (then her Royal Highness the Princess Ame of Denmark) 's shew'd a particular Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and ono less Regard to the Liberty of her Country on the late Revolution; yet the Prince of Orange, by her MAJESTY's own Consent, was to reign before her. In the Year 1901, of some time after the ever to be lamented Death of the Duke of Glocester, the Parliament made another Act (12 & 13 Gul. 3. Sess. I. p. 2.) for the further Limitation of the Crown:

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**Crown: Which settles the "Crown, after the Decease of King William and her present Majesty, upon the Princes Sophia, and the Heirs of her Body, being Protestants, provided each in that Succession join in the Communion with the Church of England, as by Law establish'd." With some Restrictions and Limitations.

'Not long after, an Act was pass'd (13 & 14 Gul. 3. c. 3)

for the Attainder of the presended Prince of Wales of High
Treason. "Which convicts him of High-Treason, for da
tring to proclaim himself King of England, &c. and makes

it no less than High Treason for any English Subjects, who

from and after March 1. 1701, shall hold any Correspondence with him, or remit or pay him any Money.

The same Session (13 and 14 W. 3. c. 6) another Act was

pass'd for further Security of his Majesty's Person and the
Succession of the Crown, &c. which enacts the Oath of Ab
juration, and makes it High Treason to prevent Her pre
ent Majesty's Succession to the Crown.

Upon Her Majesty's Auspicious Accession to the Throne, in the Session continued from the King's Death, an (1 Annæ c. 22.) Ast was pass'd to declare the Alteration in the OATH of ABJURATION, &c. which is here recited at

length.

In the first Parliament summon'd by Her Majesty an Ast was pass'd for enlarging the Time for taking the Oaths; by which 'tis made High Treason by any Over-Ast to attempt to deprive or hinder the next in Succession to the Crown, according to the Two Asts of Settlement.

And here I shall, with Pleasure, observe, That the Last Five Asts were pass'd, while the Present Lord High-Treasurer, who was Speaker of the House of Commons in Three Successive Parliaments, fill'd the Chair of that House: And that His Lordship either was the First, that suggested to King William the Settling the Succession on the Most Illustrious House of Hahover, or at least the Chief Promoter of it, in the House of Commons; where the Proposition was received with all Unanimity and Chearfulness. Every Body (says the Author of a Book Written upon that Occasion) began to ominate well to this Matter, when a Person of such acknowledged Learning, and unparallel'd Ability in Parliamentary Assairs as Mr. Harley, the

profest Spooker, was observed occasionally to drop bis Sentiments about it, some Days before it came to be the preper Business of the House: And afterwards one of the Members hatpening to mention our Danger from the pretended Prince of Wales, if the Succession were left uncertain, the Speakersaid, 'That "he hoped in a little Time our infamous Distinctions and "Parties, but particularly Jacobitism, should be wholly "abolish'd and extirpated; and that it was too great an Honour for that presended Prince to have his Name as much "as mention'd in that Assembly." "To this I shall only 'add, That the Present Lord Treasurer valued himself so much on the great Share he had in the Secund Act of Soutlement abovemention'd, that (I'm inform'd) he caus'd his own Picture to be drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller, with the Scroll of that very Act in his Hand. The Authors I contend with, who it seems, had free Access to His Lordship's Library (which indeed is open to every Body) could not be Strangers to the Passages beforemention'd: But I leave them to tell the World, what Persons they have in their Eye, when they tell (p. 211.) us, "That Q. Elizabeth's " Chief Ministers, who had been most active in bringing "the Mother (Queen Mary of Scotland) to the Scaffold, "were not afraid to continue their utmost Endeavours to " bring the Son to the Thrane. So much more powerful was "their Concern for the Interest and Welfare of their Conn-"try, than their Regards to their own private Safety and " Advantage. " 'The Meaning of this Infinuation is but too "plain: But can the Anthors of the Hereditary Right be fo fond as to suppose, That the Persons who have been eminently instrumental in the Bringing about and Afferting the late happy Revolution; in keeping out the Abdicated King; in Settling the Succession on the most Serene House of 'Hanover; In Attainting the Pretended Prince of Wales of High Treason; and in Engaging Both Houses of Par-'liament, both present and to come, all Judges, Magistrates, in short all Officers Civil and Military in Great-Britains and Ireland to renounce and ABJURE him by a solemes "Oath: Can they, I say, suppose, That Men who have done all this, will ever be so void of Sense or common Prudence, as to give up themselves, and the whole Nation to the Mercy of a Papish Prince, who has Suck'd in ' the

the Maxims of a French Government with his Milk; and whole Resentment would be the greater, in that he would return both with his own and his Father's Injuries: Which tho' Royal Clemency, and perhaps, Innate Good-Nature, would Suggest him to forgive; Yet which a pisous Duty, to the Memory of a Parent, and, (which ever prevails most with Princes) Reasons of State, would be sure to teach him to revenge, with the utmost Riegor?

But this is Putting Cases of Events that shall never bappen; the Legislature having sufficiently provided against them, both by the Acts before mention'd; and the following: 4 Anne, cap. 4. This Act Naturalizes the Princels Sophia and the Issue of her Body exclusive of Papists. 4 Anne, cap. 8. An Act for the better Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line. This makes it High Treason to affirm by Writing or Print, That her Majesty is not Rightful Queen, or that the Pretended Prince of Wales, or any other Person, has Right, other than according to the Two Acts of Settlement; Premunire to affirm the same by Word of Mouth. enacts, that in case of her Majesty's Demise, the Parliament, Privy Council, and all the Officers Civil and Military then in being, shall continue Six Months, unless fooner altered by the Successor: That the Privy Council shall, with all convenient Speed, proclaim the next Protesiant Successor, according to the said Acts of Settlement, on Pain of High Treason; and, That all Officers, refusing their Commands will incur the same Guilt. 'That if such next Successor be out of the Realm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Privy-Council, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord High-Admiral, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench for the Time be-'ing, shall be Lords Justices in the Name of the Succession, to execute all Acts of Government. That the next Successor may, during Her Majesty's Life, by Three Inftruments under Hand and Seal, appoint other Persons, being Natives of England, to be added to the other See ven, of whom (not less than Five) may act; of which Three

Instruments, the Successor's Resident shall have one, the Archbishop of Canterbury one, the Lord Chancellor or 'Keeper one; and if Her Majesty die without Issue, 'tis to be open'd in Privy Council. If there be no such No-'mination, then the other Seven Lords Justices shall act, but not dissolve the Parliament without the Successor's Direction. 5 Anne, cap. 8. The Act of Union enacts and confirms the Succession to the Monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain, according to the former Acts of Settlement. 6. Anne, cap. 7. An Act for the Security of Her Majesty's Person and Government, and the Succession of the Crown of Great-Britain in the Protestant Line. It enacts the same Clauses of Treason and Premunire, and the same Oath of Abjuration in relation to the United Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant Line, as the 4th of Anne, and that any Nomination of ad-ditional Lords Justices already made, by the next Succeffor, shall hold good for Great Britain.

'6 Anne, cap. 14. An Alt for the better Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, &c. Enacts the taking the Oath of Abjuration by Officers in Scotland, as was before in England, and Refusers adjudg'd Popish Recusants

convict.

"6 Anne, cap. 23. An Alt for further Provision for the Election of Sixteen Peers in Scotland: Enjoins all the Peers (Electors) to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and subscribe the Declaration, and take the Abjuration Oath; and enacts that no Person shall be admitted to vote at any Election for Members of Parliament, who resuses to take the Abjuration Oath, which may be tender'd by the Sherist, or chief Person taking the Poll. All we need to observe in relation to these wise Provisions for the Security of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, is that the several Parliaments who enacted these Statutes, acted, according to the constant Practise of former Ages, and the Nature of our Excellent Constitution.

The Authors, I contend with, lay no small Stress on the Authorities of Civilians and Lawyers to maintain their Hypothesis either of an Hereditary, Cessionary, or Testamentary Right: But to deprive them at once of that weak, tho

tho' plausible, Support, 'tis sufficient to observe, That all the Authorities they either do, or can possible alledge, relate only to the Children of private Persons; in which Case 'tis just and necessary to follow the Letter of the Law; But that in what relates to the Succession of a Crown, the Opinion of Civilians and Lawyers is of no Manner of Weight or Authority, any further than it is agreeable to the Constitution, or express Laws of each Particular Kingdom. 'This the Author illustrates by some Examples which he thinks abundantly sufficient to confute all the Law-Arguments of his Adversaries: He adds, 'That it would require more Time and Labour to rectify their Mistakes in Point of History and Matters of Fact: But as this is not altogether so material as the first, he only gives a Sample of their Candor and Sincerity, in the fingle Instance of Bishop Merks: Which Case he chuses before any other, because he may borrow the Judicious Remarks made already upon it by a Learned Divine.

"We have nothing remaining of Bishop Merks's Works (fays Dr. Kennet) and can judge little of his Charace cter, but that he was a warm and turbulent Man; an Adherer to Richard II. after his Abdication, an Eneet my to Henry IV. when legally establish'd on the Throne; nay, a Conspirator, and by Law adjudged a Traitor, for no less than attempting to murder the King, and to promote a French Invalion: For that was the Form of his Indictment, and a true Verdict found upon it. [Rymer Acta publ. Tom. VIII. p. 165] One would think these Crimes of Plotting to murder a " Crowned Head, and to bring in a French Army, were 66 so base and unnatural, that none but a very Popish CPrelate could be guilty of them; and none but a French. Writer, a Maimbourg, an Orleans, or fo, could make " any Apology for them. Yet this English Gen leman (The Authors of the Hereditary Right, Gc.) who, I presume, would be thought a Protestant, has now at this " Juncture made Bishop MEKKS to be the Man of Confience and Integrity, p. 70. I hope none of the Conspi-rators with the French Fleet, at least none of the intended Assassins of King William, will ever come to " have this Character given of them in England, tho' they lii 2

The POLITICAL STATE Vol. VI. have an equal Title to it. But, I do not intend to con-" cern my felf so much about this Bilhop's Character, " as about this Gemleman's misrepresenting the History " of him. He dwells much upon the bold Speech he made in Parliament, and publishes the Occasion and Copy of it from my Lord Coke, who did not so much as know " the Bishop's Christian Name; and who, indeed, though " an Oracle of Law, did very little Justice to History. After a long Deduction of Historical Facts, Dr. Kennet adds: "Wallingham does affirm, that the Pope translated "him to another Bishoprick, from which he could receive "no Fruits or Revenues: Papa transfulit Episcopum Karleo-" lensem ad Episcopatum alium, unde nec fructus perciperet " nec proventus. This the Gentleman takes to be an Enelish or a Welsh Bishoprick of little or no Value, and makes the "Translation a Breach of an Act of Parliament: Not con-" fidering that this Translation was but giving him a new "Name to a titular See, or Shadow of a Bishoprick in par-"tibus Infidelium, a common Stratagem of the Popes of " Rome, and no Breach of the English Laws, which were not concerned in that Matter. This nominal See is said by Bishop Godwyn to have been that at Samos in Greece, and he justly calls it Translationis Ludibrium, a Jest of being translated by the Pope. It was so far from supporting "Bilhop Merks, that it broke his Heart, for he died soon "after; and the Historian expresly observes, that he died of "Sorrow or Fear, rather than of Sickness. And his Memory "was never had in any Reputation till after the coming in of "the York Family, when it was Party-Rage to cry up all "who had opposed the House of Lancaster. And even then "they could say no Good of him, but gave him the general " Character of a stout Man, and, instead of his Actions, prove "it by a Speech never recorded, and, as we have reason to "think, never delivered. The greatest Certainty we know " of him is, that he was in the Plot for murdering the King, "and for bringing over a French Navy and Army against a "Prince in Possession and Parliamentary Right, to have resto-

"red an abdicated Prince, who must have ruined the Constitution; and yet this Prelate at this Juncture is called a
"Man of Integrity and Honour. It would raise the Indigna-

"tion of any English Heart to have such a Character given

"of a vile Traitor by the Laws of God and the Land, confipring against the King's Life, and calling in a Foreign French Power, the worst of Traitors to his King and

" Country. But the Gentleman's Character of him is no more to " be trusted than his History of him, which is not only par-" tial, but mistaken almost in every Particular. I must leave the Readers to judge of his other Facts by what appears " in this fingle Instance: Nor have I Leisure to point at the "Principles of his Book, which are likewise very extraordinary; as, That an Oath to the Possessor of a Crown does not " bind in Conscience against the right Heir. A Way, in his own Meaning, to absolve Her Majesty's Subjects, or " to teach them to swear with such Equivocation and Re-" ferve as I think to be very damnable. Again, That there " is no Legistative Authority under a King de facto, nor are "Acts of Parliament then valid without the Confirmation of "the King de Jure. Which is, by his Scheme, to repeal or annul all our Acts of Security for the Protestant Succession " on, till a Popish Pretender shall be pleased to confirm them. Farther, he is very terrible upon those Princes, 46 who upon his Supposition are Osurpers; and yet he has this 46 Salvo, that It is not the bare Act of Seizing and Filling a "Throne, but the Will of the Possessor, that must denominate '46 him an Ulurper; i. e. if the wrong Possessor have in "himself a secret Will to restore the Crown to the right " Heir, than his Usurpation is sanctified by his good Inten-"tion. He has many other Principles and Notions, which 46 would unfettle all Monarchies, and utterly destroy this " of Great Britain. He has mixed them indeed with some " other Principles, to which I can agree, because they are " true and inconsistent with his own Pretensions of Heredi-"tary Right; as that a very mean Genius, and manifest Inabi-" lities for Government, may be good and sufficient Reasons to keep a next Heir out of the Throne, p. 30. This makes " me think of the Report, that Mr. Lefley from abroad has " lately complained of a very obstinate and untractable Man " that does not understand Duty or Interest, &c. But, " however, I think a moral Incapacity is worse than a natu-" ral; and I hope our Laws will always continue to incapacitate every Papilt from assuming the Government of this

"Protestant Church and Nation. He comforts me again with laying it down, That there may be rightful Successors, " tho' they be not the next Heirs by Blood to the Crown p. 21. which I think indeed agrees with the Constitution of our "Hereditary Monarchy. Again, he affirms very honestly, " that There was anciently a Power in the Crown to interrupe the Lineal Succession by the Exclusion of the Right Heir. " I believe there was; but I believe likewise that there was " never any Power in the Crown fo great, but that it is now as great in the Legislature. But it seems this Gentleman, " with his Eye directly on the Pretender, thinks the last "Will and Testament of an English Monarch may dispose " of the Crown better than an Act of Parliament: For, " fays he, it was the usual Custom, i. e. the Common Law, in the Times nearer the Conquest, for our Kings to dispose of their Crowns as they thought fit, without Regard to Proximi-" ty of Blood; and their Method of doing this was by their " last Wills and Testaments. p. 22. Let me grant this; for " then I hope le Roy le Veult in Parliament is a better Will, " and more effectual, than any other Writing whatfoever. "But be it by Will and Testament, or by Statute, I am " fure there is an End of that Unalienable and Indefeasible Hereditary Right, which has been the Word given to "deprive us of all our English Birthrights.

"Thus far Dr. Kennet, by which (fays the Author) the Readers may plainly see, in what flagrant and scandalous Manner the Affertors of Hereditary Right have misreprefented the English Constitution, and the Fundamental Laws, and fallify'd History: Let's now cursorily examine how

they have manag'd the Scripture.

'They pretend, * that, in Dr. Higden's Sense, our Saviour's Resolution of the Case about paying Tribute to Casar, proves Allegiance to have been due to Cromwell; And in order to make out the Consequence they father upon the Doctor, they urge, that it is his avow'd Principle, that the Coining of Money is a certain Mark of Sovereignty; that whoever has that Power ought to be obey'd by our Sapiour's own express Precept and Dostrine; that this is a good Proof

^{*} p. 242.8 feqq.

Proof of Cromwel's Divine Authority; and that therefore it will be hardly possible for the Doctor to prove Cromwell to have been an Usurper. After this they examine Hugo Grotius's Exposition of the Text about the Tribute: Render therefore to Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's, &c. In short, they play fast and loose with this Passage about Tribute-money, as nimbly as Jugglers do with their Balls and Counters.

I shall not follow them through all their Shifts and Doubles, but endeavour to hunt them down an easier way, that is, by avoiding the Change and keeping to the true Scent. 'Tis an allow'd Maxim, that Scripture must be interpreted by Scripture; and that when any Obscurity appears in any Passage of the Holy Writ, it ought to be clear'd by the Parallel Passages: Now 'tis plain from the whole Tenor of the new Testament, That our Saviour did no where Dictate Laws of Government; and 'tis no less evident, That in the particular Case now before us, in order to put by the Drift of an insidious Question, and silence the Pharises, he commanded them to render Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's: That is, to yield Obedience or Submission, and to pay Homage and Tribute to Casar, or to the known Sovereign, to the acknowledged standing Power.

That our Saviour did not meddle with Titles of Princes, Rights of Nations, or Forms of Government, evidently appears from other concurring Passages. My Kingdom is not of this World, says he in one Place; but what's yet more pertinent to this Purpose, when one came and said to him, (Luk, xii. 13. 14.) Master, speak to my Brother, that he divide the Inheritance with me. Did he not rebuke him, saying, Man, who made me a Judge or a Divider among you? Now, if our SAVIOUR declined interposing in a private Family Concern, much less does it appear that he ever medled with State Assairs.

'Tis most certain, That both CHRIST, and His Apofiles, made the Laws of every particular Country the Measure of the Subjects Submission and Obedience: And therefore all Arguments drawn from the New Testament, in favour either of Passive-Obedience or Hereditary Right, are inconclusive and precarious. A Learned Bishop set

this Matter in a True Light, some Years ago a small Treatife call'd The Thirteenth Chapter of the Romans, Vindicated from the abusive Senses put upon it: Wherein having rightly supposed, That when the Epistle to the Romans Was Written, there were as many different Governments in the World, as there are at this Day: He afterwards invincibly proves, " That the 13th Chapter to the Romans made no immediate Change of all, or any of the several Governments, but left them as it found them; Neither did it settle or fix any Government in such a Manner, as to make it unlawful for the Legislative Power (should it see sit) to change or alter it. That the said Chapter bids every Soul be Subject to the Higher Powersbut it does not tell us, who those Higher Powers ares " It lends us to the Laws of the Constitution, to learn where they are placed: And in short, That it requires of no People any more Submission to the Higher Powers. "than the Laws of their several Countries require." Now the 13th Chapter to the Romans being exactly parallel to the Passage about the Tribute Money, in Question: 'Tis plain, that the Anthors I contend with can draw no Benesit from all their Comments (on the Words Render therefore Cæsar, the Things that are Cæsar's) in Favour of Hereditary Right. And thus, if I am not too partialto my Performance, to use the favourite Phrase, of our Adversaries, I hope, I may be allow'd to say, That I have proved beyond Contradiction, That their Presended, Ab-Solute HEREDITARY RIGHT has NO Foundation. either in LAW, HISTORY, or SCRIPTURE: Which was to be demonstrated.

The Author concludes his Observations, with those contain'd in a Letter, publish'd in the English-Man, of the 10th of November last. Let's now attend the Proceedings

of the Parliament of Ireland.

Proceedings On the 28 of November the Commons orof the Parlia- der'd several Heads of Bills to be brought in,
ment of Ire-viz. Ist for regulating Elections in the Kingdom of Ireland; 2. For the Encouragement of
Tillage. 3. For preventing Abuses committed
in whitening Linnen. 4. To prevent Imprisonment

ment beyond Sea. On the 30th Heads of Vol. VI. a Bill were order'd to be brought in, for fecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, by qualifying the Members that are to six therein: And the same Day, several Petitions were presented, complaining of undue Elections and Returns. The same Day likewise, Both Houses of Convocation met, and upon a Message from the Lord Archbishop of Tuam, Lord President of the Upper-House, the Lower-House proceeded to the Election of their Prolocutor, and the Choice fell on Archdeacon Percivale.

Dr. Percivale

On the 2d of December, upon a Petition chosen Prolo-of Sir William Fownes and Martin Tucker, Lower House Esq; complaining of the undue Election of Convocation. and Return of John Forster, Esq; and Alderman Burton, for the City of Dublin: The Examination and Consideration of that Complaint, was order'd to be heard at the Bar of the House on Friday Sevennight next; and the Committee of Privileges and Elections were, at the same time, order'd to examine, and make special Report of all Miscarriages, and undue Practices of Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Officers concern'd in the Return of Members elected to ferve in Parliament; as likewise of all Undue Practices, Letters, Promises, Threats, and Oppressions, in any Election. After this, it was order'd that Heads of a Bill be brought in for making Bankers Notes more effectual. And Committees were appointed to inspect the State, Government, and Condition of the Work-House, Soldiers Hospital, Blue-Coat-Hospital, and Ballast-Office in Dublin. Then Heads of a Bill Kkk

Vol. VI. were order'd to be brought in, for the Ease of Her Majesty's Subjects in the Payment of Quit-Rent, Crown-Rent, and Compofirion-Rent. A Motion being made that Leave be given to bring in Heads of a Bill for the better regulating the Manner preparing and transmitting Heads of Bills, in order to be laid before the Queen and Council of Great Britain; and a Debate arising thereon after some Time spent therein, the faid Debate was adjourn'd to the next Friday! On the 5th, the Commons in a Committee of the Whole House resolv'd that a Supply be granted to Her Majesty. The same Day, Heads of a Bill A Supply vo- were order'd to be brought in, to impower

Vestries to raise Money for keeping Parish-Churches in Constant Repair: Which shews ed.

the prevailing Majority of that House to be well affected to the Church. They also appointed a Committee to inspect the Management and State of the Linnen Manufasture in that Kingdom, and to report their Opinion, and Observations thereon. On the 7th Heads of a Bill were order'd

to be brought in, That the Subject may have the Benefit of Council in Cases of Felony and Treason. And the next + Day, a List

+ Dec. 816. of the Justices of the Peace; another of the Sheriffs of that Kingdom, for Three Years past, the Year 1713. inclusive; and a third of the Names of all the

Irish Papists that are licensed to carry Arms, together with an Account when fuch Licences were granted, were order'd to be laid before the Commons. On the

Votes about an 9th it was order'd, Nemine Contradicente, 1. ' That all fuch Persons as shall presume on.

hereafter

hereafter to come into the House or the Vol. Vl. Galleries, while the House or any Committee of the whole House is sitting, be taken into Custody by the Sergeant at ' Arms attending this House, without further Order or Warrant. 2, That in going out of the House no Man do fir, until Mr. Speaker do arise and go before, and then all the rest do follow after him. Then the House heard the Complaint on the Petition of Brigadier Francis Gore, against the undue Election and Return of David Bindon, Esq; returned to serve as a Burgels in this present Parliament for the Borough of Ennis, and also the Matter relating to the double Return for the faid Borough; and Council being called in and heard, and Witnesses examined and withdrawn, it was refolv'd; That the faid Francis Gore, Esq; was duely elected and return'd: and order'd. That Samuel Bindon, Esq; Provost of the Borough of Ennis, be taken into Custody of the Sergeant at Arms. The next * Day the Commons being informed, That several Popish Regular Clergymen convict, who by * Dec. 10th.
the Laws of Ireland had been ordered to Popish Priests be transported beyond Seas, had not with-convist. standing the said Sentence, returned again into that Kingdom, and more particularly to the County of the Town of Galway: And that feveral other Popish Regulars have of late come to that Place, who, for want of a sufficient Number of Protestant Freeholders in the said County of the Town of Galway, after allowing the Prisoners their peremptory Challen-Kkk 2 ges,

ges, cannot be brought to Justice, the Popish Freeholders there never finding any. of the faid Regulars guilty, tho' on the fullest Evidence: It was thereupon or-dered, That Leave be given to bring in Heads of a Bill to enable the Protestant Freeholders of the County of Galway to ferve. as Jurors, in all Criminal Cases, in the County of the Town of Galway. The House being also informed, ' That Jacob Twisleton, a Subject of this Realm, who went out 6 of this Kingdom into France, fince the ⁶ Tenth Day of April, 1689, and during the late War, and was there a Servant of the Pretender, had returned into this Kingdom contrary to the Statute, which makes fuch Returning, without Licence, 4 High Treason. And being likewise informed. That on the twenty first of 6 Ottober last Notice had been given to the Lords Justices of such his Return, and of his appearing publickly in the City of "Dublin, who thereupon ordered him to be taken into the Custody of a Messeneger; notwithstanding which he had not been apprehended, the Messenger ledging he could not be found; It was thereupon order'd, That the Sergeant at ' Arms attending this House, do forthwith apprehend and take the said Jacob Twisleton into his Custody. The House being likewise And against informed, That several Persons who had seton, and departed this Kingdom since the Tenth ibe Irish Pa- Day of April, 1689, and had born Arms pifts return against the late King William and Her pre-France, with fent Majesty, during the late Wars, and out or will been aiding and affifting to their Enemies

beyond the Seas, were making Application to obtain Licences to return into this

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Kingdom

Kingdom, in order to exempt them from Vol. VI. the Penalties of High Treason. It was thereupon order'd, 1.4 That a Committee be appointed to prepare and bring in an Address to Her Majesty, humbly to intreat her Majesty, That She will be pleased not to grant Licence to any Irish Papist, or other Person whatsoever, to return into this Kingdom, who freturning without such Licence will, by the Laws of this Land, be guilty of High Treason. 2. That a Committee be appointed to bring in Heads of a Bill to attaint the PRETENDER, and all e Persons, Subjects of this Kingdom, who have adhered to, aided, abetted, or af
Bill to attaint

fifted him, of High Treason, and a the PRE-Committee was appointed accordingly. TENDER. 43. That it be an Instruction to the said Committee, that they do prepare a 6 Clause in the said Heads of a Bill, pro-' missing a Reward to any Person who shall within this Kingdom, take the Pretender alive, or bring in his Body dead. Then the Sergeant at Arms acquainted the House, that he had, pursuant to their Order, apprehended and taken into Custody Jacob Twisleton: Upon which it was ordered, That the faid Twifleton be kept in Custody of the Sergeant at Arms till further Orders. On the 11th Mr. Forser reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, that they had taken undue Election into Consideration the Matter relating to the Double Return for the Borough of Randalsown in the County of Antrim; and that they had come to several Resolutions, which he read in his Place, and delivered in at the Table, where the same

Vol. VI. were again read, and were approved by the House, viz. 1. That Richard Jones and Westenra Warren, Esqrs; were neither duely elected nor return'd; 2. That Robert Dixon, Esq; was duely elected as a Burgess to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Randalstown. And then the House ordered, that Phelix ô Neile, Seneschal of the Mannor of Edendussicarrie, and Ro. Green, Eiq; H. Sheriff of the County of Antrim, be taken into Custody of the Serieant at Arms attending this House, for their Misbehaviout in the Election and Return of Burgesses to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough of Randal fown. On the 12th the Commons order'd that Facob Twisleton, a Person accused to have return'd from France without Licence. contrary to the Act in that Case made and provided, now in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, be carry'd before and delivered to the Lord Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench, to be dealt with according to Law. ' It was also order'd, 'That the Clerk of the Peace for the County of Rescommon, do lay before this House on Friday next, the Rolls of the Persons that took the Oaths pursuant to the late Act of Parliament, To prevent the further Growth of Poperv; also the Certificates of the Persons that have taken the Sacrament pursuant to the said A&. On the 14th it was ordered, 'That the Judges of her Majesty's Court of Queen's " Bench, and all Justices of the Peace, who have taken any Examinations relating to the Riot at the Tholfel on the 6th of Nov. ·laft.

and the Death of Robert Jenkins; Vol. VI. and also the Clerk of the Crown of the faid Court, do immediately lay before this House all the Examinations fo taken.' The House being informed, that Mr. Caldwell, Deputy Clerk of the Crown, attended (according to Order) at the Door, he was called in and informed the House, that only Four of the said Examinations were in his Custody, which he delivered at the Bar. Then the House proceeded to the further Hearing of the Matter of the Complaint of Sir W. Fownes and M. Tucker Efg; against J. Forfter and B. Burton, Esgris, and adjourned the further Confideration of the said Complaint to the next Morning.

On the 15 the Clerk of the Crown delivered at the Bar, a List of the Justices of the Peace throughout this Kingdom. Also a List of the Sherists for Three Years last past. After which it was ordered. That a Committee be appointed to meet the next Morning, to enquire what Proceedings have been against Edward Lloyd, for printing and publishing a Book intitled, The Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George. And that the said Committee do also enquire what Proceedings were had. against Dudley Moore and others, relating to a pretended Riot at the Playhouse. was likewise ordered, 1. That the Honourable Mr. Molesworth and Mr. Brodrick do go immediately to the Judges of the Queen's Bench, to require them to lay before this House all the Examinations taken before them in Relation to the Riot at the Tholsel, on the 6th of November last.

Vol VI. ' last. 2. That the Clerk of this House V' do attend the Right Honourable the Votes about the c Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to acquaint Dublin Ele-, him that there has been a Complaint against one Thomas Harvey (said to be a Servant of his) for a Breach of the Pri-'vilege of this House, and to know whether he be his Lordship's Servant; and if he be fo, that he will order him to attend this House, to answer the said 'Complaint.' Then Mr, Molesworth reported from the Committee appointed to go to the Judges of the Queen's Bench, to require them to lay before this House all the Examinations by them taken in relation to the Riot at the Tholfel, that they answered, That All the Examinations relating to that Matter, were delivered by them to Mr. Tysdal the proper Officer, to be laid before this House. Upon which Mr. Tysdal (according to Order) presented to the House several Examinations taken relating to the faid Riot. Then the House proceeded on the further Hearing of the Complaint of Sir Wm. Fownes and M. Tucker, Esq; against J. Forster and B. Burton, Esqrs, and came to the following Resolutions, Nemine Contradicente, viz. 1. That the Right of Election of Members to fit in Parliament for the City of Dublin, is in the Freemen and Freeholders of the said City only. 2. That on Fellow, Scholar, or Student of Trinity-College in Dublin, has any Right to

3. That no Officer, Soldier, In'valid,

vote in the faid Election, upon account of their having Chambers in the faid Col-

valid, or Out-Pensioner, belonging to, or Vol. VI. 'in the Royal Hospital near Dublin, hath a-'ny Right as such, to vote in the said Ele-'ction. 4. That no Vicars Chorals, they be-'ing Members of an aggregate Body, have a-'ny Right as such, to vote as Freeholders in the said Election. 5. That no superannuated Custom-house Officer, or Penfioner, who is on the Charity List of the Commissioners of the Revenue, hath ' any Right to vote in the faid Election, in respect of his Pension. 6. That no Parish Clerk, or Sexton of any Parish, as such, · hath any Right to vote in the faid Ele-Ction. 7. That J. Forster and B. Burton, Esqrs, are duely elected as Citizens to ' serve in this present Parliament for the 'City of Dublin. 8. That the Petition of 'Sir W. Fownes and M. Tucker, Esq; is frivolous and vexatious, and the Allega-' tions therein contained are false, scanda-6 lous, and malicious. 9. That it appears to this House, that in Order to prevent the taking a free Poll on the 6th of Nov. 1713, at the Tholsel, and to procure the ' faid Sir W. Fownes and M. Tucker, Elg; to be chosen, a dangerous Delign was formed, to infult and mob T Bradhaw and E. Surdevile, Esqrs, who acted as Sheriffs in the said Election, together with J. Forster and B. Burton, Esquis; two of the Candidates for the faid City, and the Persons who came to vote for them.

to. That it appears to this House, that in pursuance of the said Design, a great Number of Persons armed with L11 'Sword,

The POLITICAL STATE

Vol. VI. 'Swords and Clubs, among whom were " many Papists and others unqualified to vote, came with Sir W. Fornes and M. "Tucker, Esq; to the Tholsel, on the 6th of November last, in a Tumultuous Manner, and during the time that T. Brad-· Shaw and E. Surdevile, Esgrs, were proceeding on the Queen's Writ, tore down the Stage erected for taking the Poll. with the utmost Fury, and put the said T. Bradshaw and E. Surdevile, and J. Forster and B. Burton, Bigrs, with feveral of the Electors, in great Terror and ' Danger of their Lives.

11. That the Method of polling by Corporations, proposed by T. Bradshaw and E. Surdevile, Esqrs, and refused by Sir W. Fownes and M. Tucker, Fig; was a proper Method for taking the faid Poll.

12. ' That T. Bradsbaw and E. Surde-" vile, Esqrs; acted with great Prudence and Integrity, and Impartiality, in taking the faid Poll, and during the whole Time and Course of the Election. ' Then a Motion being made, and a Que-" stion proposed, that T. Harvey, Ser-' vant to the Right Honourable Sir Conft. ' Phipps, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, was a chief Fomenter of, and Instrue ment in carrying on, and putting in execution the Riotous Delign and Force used to obstruct the Pollat the Thalfel. An Amendment was offer'd to the faid Question, by leaving out the Words [Servant to the Right Honourable Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland? after

after the Word [Harvey] and before the Wol. VI. Word [was] and a Debate arising thereon, it was ordered, That the said Debate be adjourned till to Morrow Morning. A Motion being made, and the Question put, That the said Sir W. Fownes be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, it passed in the Negative.

On the 16th the Commons came to the following Resolutions: 1. ' That Thomas the Riot at the Harvey, Gent. Servant to the Right Hon. Dublin Sir Constantine Phipps, Knt. Lord High Gion. Chancellor of Ireland, was a chief Foe menter of, and instrument in carrying on and putting in execution the Riotous Delign, and Force used to obstruct the . Poll at the Tholfel, on the 6th of Nov. last. 2. That Robert Symms, Assistant Armourer in the Ordnance, was active in breaking down the Stage erected for taking the Poll for the City of Dublin, on the 6th of November last, to obstruct the faid Poll, and was concerned in the Riot that happened that Day at the "Tholfel. And it was ordered, First, · That such Members of this House as are of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy · Council, do lay the Vote of this House e relating to Robert Symms, before his Grace the Lord Lieutenant. And 2dly, 'That the said Robe, t Symms be taken into 6 Custody of the Serjeant at Arms at-.6 tending this House. ? After this it was Resolved 3dly, That Charles Pitts, Gent.

(one of the Managers of Sir W. Fownes

'and

Vol. VI. ' and M. Tucker, Esq; on the Election of ' Citizens for the City of Dublin) John Symfon, James Tooley, Richard Macquire, ' Clothier, James Egar, Seedman, James " Crosts, Shoemaker; Will. Thwaits, Gent. and Richard Jones, were active in break-' ing down the Stage, to obstruct the faid Poll, and were concern'd in the Riot at the Tholfel the 6th of November 6 last. 4. That James Cotter, Esq; an Irish Papist, --- Cook, an Irish Papist, Son of William Cook, deceased, formerly Sub-Sheriff of the City of Dublin; and Major Robert Thornton, are guilty of the Breach of the Privileges of this House, in encouraging the Disturbance of the Election of Citizens for the City of Dub-6 lin. And ordered, That the eleven Persons abovenamed, be taken into Custody of the Serieant at Arms attending this House. Moreover, 'It appearing to this House, that there was an absolute Necessity to fend for the Guard to quell the Riot, ' and Tumult raised at the Tholsel to obftruct the Execution of her Majesty's Writ for electing Citizens for the City of Dublin, on the 6th Day of November alast, Tho. Bradshaw and Edw. Surdevile, · Esgrs; who afted as Sheriffs on the said Election, having before that Time often commanded the Peace, and the Posse Co-" mitatus without Effedt. Resolved, That Captain Hales and

the other Officers under his Command, dischaged their Duty, and afted according to their Orders, in quelling the ' faid ' faid late Riotous Mob at the Tholfel: Vol. VI.

'And 'That such Members of this House

'are Members of her Majesty's most Hoonourable Privy-Council, do lay the

Vote of this House relating to the said

Captain Hales and the other Officers, before his Grace the Lord Lieutenant.

On the 17th the Commons order'd, 6 That such of their Members as are of her

" Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Coun-

'cil, do attend his Grace the Lord Lieu-

tenant of Ireland, to desire that he

would be pleased to direct the proper

Officer, forthwith to lay before this

House, the Petition of Edward Lloyd,

to the late Lords-Justices, praying for a

. Noli prolequi (on account of his printing

and publishing a traiterous Libel, intitled

The Memoirs &c.) The Order conceived

on the faid Petition, together with the

Report made thereon; and all other Pa-

pers relating to the faid Petition, Or-

der, and Report.

On the 18th the Commons came to the. following Resolutions, Nemine contradi-Votes agains cente, 1. That the Book intitled, Me-Edw. Lloyd, moirs of the Chevalier de St. George, is a Chan. Phipps, Seditions and Treasonable Libel. 2. That Dec. 18th.

the faint and remiss Prosecution of Edw. Lloyd, News-Writer, for publishing

' Proposals to print the said seditious and

treasonable Libel, gave great Encou-ragement to the *Popish* and other Friends

of the Pretender in this Kingdom.

'That the Design of the said traiterous Libel is to impeach her Majesty's Title to

'the

Vol VI. the Crown, and the Succession to the of fame in the illustrious House of Henever. 4. That the Right Honourable Sir * Constantine Phipps, Knt. Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, having repre-fented Edward Lloyd as an Object of her Majesty's Mercy, and as not having an e evil Design in publishing the faid Libel. in order to obtain a Noli profequi on the Indicament against him, acted therein contrary to his Duty and contrary to the Protoftant Interest of this Kingdom. 5. That it appears to this House, that the faid Sir Conftantine Phipps, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, in a Speech made by him on the 16th of January 1712, to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Dublin, being then one of the Lords [Justices of Iraland, did take upon himself, by declaring his Opinion, to prejudge the Merits of the Cause then depending between her Majesty and Dudley Moore, Elg; and thereby to influence the Aldere men, some of whom are constantly returned on Juries in the Causes of Impor-'tance of that City. 6. That an humble 'Address be presented to her Majesty, humbly to beseech her to remove the Right Honourable Sir Constantine Phipps, Knt. Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, from his Place of Lord High Chancellor of this Kingdom, for the Peace and Safety of her Protestant Subjects of this 'Kingdom.' Upon which it was ordered, 'That a Committee be appointed accor-· dingly: and that the faid Address be draw n

drawn up on the Debates and Resolutions Vol. VI. of this House.

On the other Hand, the House of Votes of the Lords pass'd, the same Day, the fol-in Vindication lowing Resolutions, viz. 1. That the of the Lord Words spoken by R. Nuttally Attor-Chancellor, e ney, in August last, that the Lord Chan- Dec. 18th. cellor of this Kingdhm, then one of the Lords Justices of the same, was a Capary Bird and a Villain, and had fet this Kingdom together by the Ears, and ought to be, hanged; are talfe, scandalous, and maclicious, tending to stir up Sedition, and highly reflecting upon the Government. of this Kingdom. 2. That Sir Conft. · Phipps, Knight, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, has in the several Stations wherein he has ferved her Majelty in this. Kingdom, acquitted himself with How e nour and Integrity, ? And it was ort dered, 1. That a Committe be appointed. to withdraw immediately into the Com-· mittee-Chamber, to draw up an Address to her Majesty, pursuant to the foregoing Resolutions; and, 2. That the Clerk of this House do forthwith cause the

· above Resolutions and Order to

e printed.

Their Lordships Address: to the Queens in favour of Sir Constanting, which was the Ibeir Address next Day, presented to the Lord Lieute-to the Queen nant. was as follows:

XIE your Majesty's most Dutiful and V Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, un Parliament affembled, haping taken into our Consideration the Calumnies and Reproaches

4

Vol. VI. Repreaches cast upon Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Speaker of this House; and having this Day had under our Examination several groundless Afpersions thrown upon him by one Richard Nuttall, whereby he is traduced (even whilst one of Your Majesty's Lords Justices) as having been a Promoter of all the Dissentions which have lately happen'd in this Kingdom, do think our selves obliged, in Justice to your excellent Minister, in all Humility, to represent to Your Majesty, That we do find, that in the Several eminent Stations in which he serv'd Your Majesty since his coming into this Country, he has always acquitted himself with Honour and Integrity, as became a discerning and vigilant Governour, an equal Administerer of Justice, a true Lover of the Church by Law establish'd. and a zealous Affertor of the Prerogative, in Opposition to the factious Spirit which hath too much prevailed in this Kingdom ; we therefore humbly befeech Your Majesty, that You will not Suffer any Evil Report against him (if any such should reach Your Majesty) to make an Impression on Your Royal Heart to his Disfare ur.

> About this Time the Queen's Answer to the Commons Address, which they made at at the Beginning of their Session, was communicated to them, being as follows:

The Queen's Land ER Majesty thanks them for their Commoni Adhancer to the Commoni Adhancer to bless the Nations with. The best Way of preserving their religious and

for December, 1713.

civil Rights, and of fecuring the Vol. VI.

Concern for them, is to proceed with Unanimity and Temper in Supporting

the necessary Occasions of the Govern-

ment, and in establishing Peace at Home,

by discountenancing the restless Endea-

vours of those factious Spirits who at-tempt to fow Jealousies, and to raise groundless Fears in the Minds of her

Majesty's People.

The Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, to her Majesty (at the Beginning of the Session) was as follows:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

VE your Majesty's most Dutiful and at the Opening V Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament affembled, readily embrace this first Opportunity of returning our most sincere and humble Thanks, for the safe and honourable Peace, which by your Majesty's great Wisdom and Goodness has been procured for your People, notwishft anding the Artifices used to prevent it, by those who delight in War.

Your Majesty, by calling this Parliament, gives us Liberty of offering to your Majesty, with our Duty, such Laws as will further fe cure our Established Church, with our Civil Rights, and enable us to reap the full Benefits and Advantages of Peace.

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Tbe Lords Address to the Q.

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Your Majesty's Eminent Piety has always influenced your Royal Heart, to encourage with your peculiar Favour the Church as by Law establish'd; happy would this Kingdom be, if your Majesty's illustrious Example could remove the Prejudices which too many of your Subjects here labour under, by the restless Endeavours of their Popish Priests and Disfenting Preachers.

Your Majesty has justly deserved that Glorious Title of Desender of the Faith, not only by supporting our most Holy Religion at Home, but by protesting the Protestant Interest

Abroad.

Tour Majesty, by the Affection show'd on all Occasions to the Illustrious House of Hanover, has given us an undeniable Proof how much your Majesty has at Heart the Publick Good of your People and the Liberty of Europe. We beg leave to acquaint your Majesty, that the sending the Duke of Shrewsbury to be our Lord Lieutenant, is a great Instance of your Majesty's Favour to us; and we promise our selves from his Grace's known Abilities, his Experience in Publick Affairs, and his unshaken Loyalty to your Majesty, that be will faithfully obey your Majesty's Commands, and make effectual your Majesty's Gracious Intentions towards this Kingdom.

We earnestly intreat your Majesty to believe, that we will to the utmost of our Power concur with your Majesty's Chief Governour in all Things for your Majesty's Service and the Common Good, and study to be unanimous in all our Proceedings, as we are in our Hearty and Constant Prayers for your Majesty's Long

and Prosperous Reign over us.

Her

Vol. VI.

The L's Anfre

ANNE R.

Feace to her Kingdoms, is so acceptable to them, and that they are resolved to take the proper Means of improving to themselves the Advantages of it. Her Majesty could expect no less from that Assertion and Loyalty of which they have given her so many Proofs; and they may be assured that it shall be her Majesty's constant Care inviolably to maintain their Civil Rights, essectivally to support the Establish'd Church, and to transmit both securely to Posterity.

Windson, Dec. 15, 1713.

On the 21st of December Their Lordfhips order'd their Address of Thanks to the Queen, with her Majesty's Answer, to be printed: And the same Day the Commons presented the following Address to the Lord Lieutenant, to be transmitted to her Majesty:

To the Queens Most Excellent Majesty. The Commons The humble Address of the Knights, Ci- Address to the tizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament as Q. against the sembled.

Most Gracious Soverign,

W ITH the greatest Humility and utmost Concern, your Majesty's most Mmm 2 Loyal - 458

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Loyal Subjetts, the Commons of Incland, are constrained to lay before your Majesty the Hardships and Oppression this your Kongdom groans under, through the evil Administration of Sir Constantine Phipps, now Lorde High Chancellor thereof. Notwithstanding the Safety of the Protestant Interest of this Kingdom does, next under God and your Majesty, intirely depend upon their Unanimity, the Di-Stinction of Parties has, since the Lard Chancellor came into the Kingdom, been for for fomented, that much the greater Part of your Majesty's most Loyal Protestant Subjects, who glory in nothing more than in being true Sous of the Church of Ireland as by Lun Establifoed, zealoufly and durifully affected to your Majesty's Person and Government, and firmly adhering to the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover, hove been most injuriously traduced and misrepresented as Enemies to your Sacred Perfou and the Establifted Church of this Nation, and thereby exposed to the Insults of Papiles and others of the vilest Part of the People.

Among the many seditions and traiterous Libels calculated to persuade Your Majosty: Subjects that the Pretender has an undoubted Right to the Crown which your Majosty most justly wears with the greatest Glory, which have of late been dispers'd through this Kingdom, we beg leave particularly to acquaint your Majosty that a seditious and treasonable Libel intitled, Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George, the Design of which is to impeach your Majosty's Title to the Crown, and the Succession to the same in the Illustrians House of Hanover, has been lately published

eache City of Dublin; and Proposate for Ro. Vol. VI. pristing the Jame have been differed through wow out the Kingdom by Edward Loyd, News-Writer. Notwithst anding the dangerous Tenwheney of which Libel, and that the faid Bow. Loyd is a Perfor most infamous for daily pro--bliffing false and scandalous Libels with mil Sinving Sedition in this Kingdom, the Profest pion of him has been notorially fains and the sifs, to the great Bincouragement of the Papilts and other of the Pretender's Fasculs in this Kingdom. And your Majesky's fuithful Commons crave Leave to offer to your Majesty, as sheir bumble Opinion, shat whe faid Lord Chanceller having trepresented the faid Edw. Loyd as an Object of Mercy; and as one that Load no evil Design in publishing the same, with Imem to obtain an Order for to Noti profequi an the Indictment against him; has shorein ucted contrary to his Duty and the Protostant Interest of this Kingdom: And inequality here ahe Leave burnbly to inform your Majesty, that mbile a Profesution was depending in your Court of Queen's Bench, against Dudley Moore, Esq; and several other Gentlemen, for a supposed Riot, the faid Lord Chancellor, the 16th Day of January, 1712, being then: one of the Lords Justices of this Kingdom, in a Speech made by him to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Dublin, did take upon him, by declaring his Opinion thereon, to prejudge the Merit of the faid Caufe then depending, and to inflame and prepoffefs the Minds of the Aldermen, some of whom are . confrantly returned on Juries in all Criminal Canses of Importance in that City; which we humbly apprehend to be a Presedent of the most dangerous

Vol. VI. dangerous Confequence to the Lives, Diberties,

this Kingdom.

Your Duisted and Faithful Commons do therefore, with the utmost Submission, humbly beseeth your sacred Majetty, for the Peace and Safety of your Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom, to remove the Right Honourable Ser Constantine Phipps, Knt. from his Place of Lord High Chancellor of Iteland; and we befeech your Majesty to believe that this our humble Application proceeds from no other Motive shan a deep and just Sense of our Duty to your Majefty and our Country: And we beg Leave on this Occasion, to repeat our Assurances and fready Refolutions, to the atmost of our Power_ to Support your Majesty's most word aubied Title to the Crawn of this Realm, against all your Enemies, either at home or abroad, and that as we have already passed a Bill for granting an Aid to your Majesty, so it is our firm Purpose to give such further Supplies as shall be necessary to support your Majesty's Establishment and Government of this Kingdom with Honour.

The same Day likewise the Commons Votes of the a came to the following Resolutions: bont the Ele- That for some Years last past, there Stion of the hath been a Delign formed and carried Magistrates of on to subvert the Constitution, and alter the Government of the City of Dublin. 2. Dublin, Dec. That to carry on that Defign, a corrupt 2 Ift. and illegal Attempt was made in 1711, to corrupt Alderman Ralph Gore, then Lord Mayor, by offering him a Bribe of 6 500 l. to name 32 Persons, marked in a List then delivered to him by Martin Tucker.

Tucker; Elq: Sub; collector of the Port of Vol. VI. Dublin, to be Common-council-Men for the faid City. 3. That it appears on the Examination of Martin Tucker, Elgs that he was fent to offer the faid Sum of 500 l to Alderman Ralph Gore, while the Right Honourable Sir Conft. Phipps, Knt. Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, and Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby, were Lds. lustices of this Kingdom. 4. That the City of Dublin hath of late been, and still continues in great Disorder and Contulion, by reason of the frequent Disapprobation of Persons elected Lord Mayors and Sheriffs of the faid City, all of them of known Affection to her Majefty's Person and Government, and to the · Constitution in Church and State. 5. That Sir Can. Phipps, Kt. Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, hath been the chief Cause and Promoter of such frequent 4 Disapprobations, and thereby the Occafion of the faid Disorder and Confusion. 6. That fince the making the new Rules in 1672, until Sir Con. Phipps, Kt. Lord ! High Chancellor of Ireland, arrived in this Kingdom, no Person elected Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin hath been ' disapproved, except in the Government of the Earl of Tyrconnell. 7. That the. 'Council Board hath not at this Time. onor had not fince the Time given them. by the Act of Explanation expired, any · Power to make Rules or Orders for regulating the Election of Language any Corporation in this Kingdom. gulating the Election of Magistrates in That the Right of Election of Lord Mayor

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Mayor of Dablin is in the Lord a Mayor and Aldermen of the faid City, and that the Aldermen are in no fort reftrained, in the Choice of the fucceed ing Lord Mayor, to one of any three Persons nominated on proposed to be put in Election by the Lord-Mayor.

The Right Honourble Robert Molesworth
Esq; One of the Privy-Council, and a
Member of the House of Commons, having been very active in the Vigorous Proceedings of that House against the Lord
Chancellor, which were supposed to be
levell'd against the Church Party: No small
Industry was used to asperse him: Other
Means failing, the Lower House of Convocation laid hold of some unguarded Expressions which Mr. Molesworth dropt in a
Complaint of jocular Way; and thereupon formed a

she Lower H. Complaint, which they put up to the of Convocati Upper House, in the following Form:
Molesworth.

May it please your Graces and Lordships.

Members of their House, that immediately after your Graces and Lordships with their whole Clergy hath presented their Address to his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant on Monday the 21st of December, and when your Graces and Lordships were still in the Presence-Chamber, that the Right Honourable Robert Molesworth, Esq; did publickly and in the hearing of a great many Persons speak the following Words, viz. They that

have turned the World upfide down are come bithen also.

We humbly represent to your Graces and your Lordships that we look upon these Words, as uttered by him, to be an intolerable Profanation of the holy Scriptures, and that his speaking them at that Time and in that Place, was with defign to cast an Odium and Aspersion on your Graces and Lordships. the whole Clergy, and to represent us a turbulent and feditious Body; and we think our selves in duty obliged to lay the Matter before your Graces and Lordships, not only for the Reasons be-

forementioned, but because we conceive ' it to be a high Affront to her Majesty,

· and great Difrespect to her Representa-

tive the Lord Lieutenant.

And we humbly pray your Graces and · your Lordships, to take such Methods of doing Right to your felves and us, in ' vindicating the whole Clergy from this ' wicked Calumny, as to your Graces and Lordships Wisdoms shall seem most proper.

Copia Vera. William Percival Prolocutor.

Paper deli-The Lords having desired a Conference with ver'd by the the Commons on this Subject, delivered them-Lords to the selves as follows. thereupon_

THE Lords who are always destrous of preserving a good Understanding between the two Houses of Parliament, have desired this Conference with the Commons before they would proceed to do Justice to that Nnn

venerable Assembly the Convocation, since they observe the high Crime so justly complemed of by them, was committed by the Right Honourable Robert Molesworth Esq, a Member of the Commons House.

The Lords cannot entertain the least Suspicion, but that the Commons upon full Proof of the Words charged upon the Right Honourable Robert Molesworth, Elg; which they may have from several Members of the Lower House of Convocation of indisputable Charafter, will do Justice upon their Member to that venerable Bedy the Convocation, that they will highly resent to our excellent Lord-Lieutenant, the Words being spoken before his Grace was withdrawn out of the Room, the Affront to Majefy, the Words being Spoken in the Presence Chamber at the Castle, and will make him fensible of the horrid Crime laid to his charge of impiously profaning the holy Scriptures, those lively Oracles of God.

The Lords entertain this Assurance of the readiness of the Commons to do Justice in all these Particulars, from the Zeal they have observed from the Commons in former Parliaments, expressly against Toland and Asgil.

We leave with the Commons a Copy of the Paper, transmitted to the Lords by the Convocation; and though their Privileges are equally dear to the Lords as their own, yet that the Commons may not want Proof of a Crime of His deep Dye, that so great an Offender may be punished, the Lords give Leave to the Members of the Lower House of Convocation to give Evidence before the Commons in relation to this particular Fast.

The

The next * Day, the Lord Lieutenant *Dec. 22d. went to the House of Lords with the u-Money Bill state, and the Commons being sent for up, and attending, his Grace gave the Royal Assent to a Bill entituled, An Assert for Granting to Her Majesty an additional Duty on Beer, Ale, Strong-Waters, Tobacco, and other Goods and Merchandizes. Upon this Occasion, the Speaker of the House of Commons made the following Speech to his Grace:

HE Commons having ever at Heart The Speaker's
Her Maiesta's Service Her Majesty's Service, and the Safety Speech 10 bis and Prosperity of this Kingdom, and being Grace thereup-sensible that nothing can so much contribute to on. both as Unanimity among Protestants (so sea-. fonably recommended to them by your Grace) have as far the Shortness of Time would allow. Enquired into and Pointed out, bow and by what means the Distinction of Parties bath been fomented among us, and much the greater Part of Her Majesty's Loyal Subjects, true Sons of the Church of Ireland, as by Law establish'd, being injuriously traduced and misrepresented as Enemies to Her Majesty's Person and Government, and the Establish'd Church of this Nation, and been thereby exposed to the Insults of Papists, and others of the Vilest Part of the People.

They are wofully sensible, that whilf such Methods are taken to sow Misunderstandings and Divisions, it is a vain thing to expect that Unanimity among Protestants, which is (at this time especially) most absolutely necessary for their Common Preservation against the numerous Friends the Pretender hath among the Nnn 2 Irish

Irish Papists in this Kingdom, and cannot but apprehend that those who are instrumental in Misrepresenting Her Majesty's Faithful Subjects, and in somenting Distinctions and Divisions among them, have Views directly opposite to Her Majesty's Service and the Good of this Kingdom.

And altho' much of their Time hath been employ'd in enquiring into and in confidering of an Effectual Remedy for this great Evil, yet have they been necessitated with indefatigable Pains and unparallel'd Application, to examine also into some of the Exorbitant and illegal Courses taken into several Parts of the Kingdom, to fill their House with Persons not Chosen by those in whom the Right of Election resides; and do find that very unusual, indirect, and hateful Practices have been used to that Purpose, to the great Dislatisfaction of all good Men, and endangering the Freedom of Elections.

But the violent and wicked Methods taken in endeavouring to obtrude Citizens on the City of Dublin in this Parliament, have been of the blackest Dye and most extraordinary Nature; and have occasioned great Feuds and bitter Animosities in the Minds of the People.

The Commons have found it necessary to spend four entire Days of the short Time they have hitherto Sat, in the Examination of that Matter; yet have not neglected to consider that the Time for which the Additional Duties are granted to Her Majesty is near Expiring: And being sirmly purposed to make good the Assurances by them given at the beginning of the Session, in part of the Supply by them voted, have granted to Her Majosty an Aid by Passure sing the Supply suppl

fing a Bill, Entitled, An Act for granting to Her Majesty an additional Duty on Beer, Ale, Strong Waters, Tobacco, and other Goods and Merchandizes.

On the 23d of December, the House of The Lords Re-Lords agreed upon the following Repre-vindication of sentation to the Queen, in favour of the the Ld. Chan-Lord Chancellor:

DUBLIN. Dei Mercurii 23°, Decembris 1713.

By the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

* THE Examination of Alderman Ralph Gore, of the City of Dublin, taken before the Right

Honourable the Lord Viscount Mountjoy, and the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Limerick, being

a Committee appointed by the Lords House, on

the Three and Twentieth Day of December, 1713.

4 As far as it relates to Sir Constantine Phipps, Knight,

Lord High-Chancellor of Ireland.

- Who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist, and examined upon Oath, saith, That in the Year
- 1711, when the Examinant was Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin, one Market Day in the Morning be
- call'd at Martin Tucker, Esq's; House in this City,
- who told the Deponent, That he heard the City inten-
- ded the Deponent Three Hundred Pounds, and that
- there was Five Hundred Pounds otherwise intended
- bim; or Words to that Effect.
- And being further asked, "Whether Mr. Tucker
- told this Deponent, That my Lord Chancellor employed him to offer the said Sum of Five Hundred Pounds, or the same other Sum? The Deponent saith He did not
 - "And being further asked, "Whether my Lord Chancellor by himself, or any other Person whatsoever,

u die

" did directly or indirectly offer any Sum of Money to
this Deponent to choose a Common Council? This De-

of penent faith, He did not.

And being further asked, "Whether my Lord Chancellor sont this Deponent any List or Lists of Common Council Men to be chosen? This Deponent faith, He never did.

And being further asked, "Whether the Depoment had any Conversation with the Lord Chanceller, or any Person or Persons deputed by him, relating to that Matter? The Deponent absolutely says, He had

" not.

The Evidence of Martin Tucker. Esq; taken at the Bar of this Most Honourable House, the Twenty Second of December, 1713, as far as relates to Sir Constantine Phipps, Knight, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

Who being duly fworn on the Holy Evangelist,

and examined upon Oath, fays, That the Lord Chancellor never spoke to him on that Subject, directly or indirectly, nor did he ever offer any Money.

Deposeth, That he believes, That the Lord Chanceller had no Hand in or Knowledge of the said Offer of

this Examinant to Mr. Gore.

Says, He never had any Discourse with the Lord. Chanceller about the List, and that directly or indirectly in the whole Course of his Life, he had not any Discourse with the Lord Chancellor about Farming the faid Common Council, or giving the said Five Hundred Pounds, or the said List, or any thing relating

thereto.
Denies, "That ever the Lord Chancellor had any "Hand directly or indirectly in that Matter, nor did he defire the Examinant to speak to the said Alderman; and verily believes, 'That the said Lord Chancellor never had any Hand in the offering the said

's Money, or making the faid Lift.

Resolved,

Refoluted

- On the Question, That it appears to this House by the Depositions of Alderman Ralph Gore, That the Lord Chancellor did not by himself, or any other Person whatsoever, directly or indirectly offer any Sum of Money to the said Alderman
- offer any Sum of Money to the said Alderman Ralph Gore, when Lord Mayor, to choose a Com-
- mon Council.

' Resolved,

- On the Question, That it appears to this House, by the Depositions of Alderman Ralph Gore, That the Lord Chancellor did not send him the said Alderman Ralph Gore, any List or Lists of Common Council Men to be chosen.
 - Resolved,
- On the Question, Nemine Contradicente, That it appears by the Depositions of Alderman Ralph Gore, That he the said Alderman Ralph Gore had not any Conversation with the Lord Chancellor, or any Person or Persons deputed by him, relating to that Matter.

Resolved,

by the Deposition of Martin Tucker, Esq; That the Lord Chancellor did not by himself or any other Person, either directly or indirectly speak to the said Martin Tucker, to give any List, or offer any Sum of Money to influence the Election of Common Council-Men when Alderman Gore served for Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin, and that the Lord Chancellor had no Privity of any

On the Question, That it appears to this House,

* Conversation, the said Martin Tucker had with the faid Alderman Gore, on that Subject.

* Ordered, On the Question, That the Evidence of Alderman Ralph Gore and Martin Tucker, Esq; (the first taken upon Oath, before a Committee of the Lords House, the second upon Oath at

the Lords House, the second upon Oath at the

470 the Bar) in relation to the Lord Chancellor's concerning or not concerning himself in the Election of Common Council-Men, in the Year One Thou-' fand Seven Hundred and Eleven, when the faid ' Alderman Gore was Lord Mayor, together with the Resolutions thereupon, be forthwith printed by the Clerk of this House.

Most Gracious Sovereign.

WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal 'Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, having daily Proofs of Your Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness to all Your Subjects humbly begleave to represent to Your Majefly, That there having been several severe Reflexions cast upon Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord High-Chancellor of Ireland, on the occasion of a Prosecution against one Edward Loyd; and some Directions given by his Lordship in Council to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of the City of Dublin, we thought it a Duty incumbent upon us, to make the strictest ' Enquiry into the Truth of these Accusations; and from the Entries in the Council Books and Paper-Office, to lay them before Your Majesty in a clear Light.

'The faid Edward Loyd did in the Month of September, 1712. publish in his News-Letter, a Propofal That he would print a Book call'd, Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George; and that he would take in Subscriptions for the same. The then Lords-• Justices and Council of this Kingdom, being infor-· med thereof, immediately seized his Papers, where-

by a stop was put to the Printing the Book. Not content with this, the Lords Justices, to shew

their utmost Abhorrence of that Design, ordered, a Profecution forthwith against the said Loyd, he Was

was accordingly Profecuted, and a Bill of Indiament was found against him in Your Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench, in which Indicament, the whole Seditious and Treasonable Libel was recited from a London Impression of it. Upon this the faid Loyd withdrew into England, and neither rendred his Person, nor found Bail to traverse the 'Indictment; but after he was gone, two sufficient 'Persons became Bail for him for that purpose; and the faid Loyd afterwards petition'd the Duke of Or-" mond, then Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, fetting forth, That he had no Evil Intention or Defign in publishing the said Book, for which he was indicted; That his Poverty rendred him an Object of Mercy; That he had given Evidence of ' Zeal for Her Majesty's Service, by discovering a most infamous Libel against Her Majesty; and that he would live without any Offence of that kind for the future. His Grace the Duke of Ormond referr'd this Petition to the Lords-Instices; and the Lords-Justices in Council referred it to the Attore ney and Solicitor-General, who made a Report, 6 That the said Edward Loyd, being no farther Criminal than by intending to print and publish the faid Book, and being in very low Circumstances, he e might be an Object of Her Majesty's Mercy. Upon 4 this Report, the Lords-Justices and Council (and onot the Lords-Justices or Chancellor only) wrot a Letter to the Duke of Ormond of May 23. 1713. 'That being inform'd that the faid Edward Loyd ' had no Evil Intention or Design in proposing to f print the Book for which he was indicted, they were humbly of Opinion, that he was an Object of Mercy, and thereby recommended him to his Grace's Favour. His Grace by his Letter of June 6 18. 1713. did thereupon require the Lords-Justices to give Direction that a stop should be put to any 000 further

further Proceedings against him, upon the said Indictment; and the Lords-Justices issued their Warrant for a Noli profequi accordingly, which did out a stop to the Prosecution. This; may it please Your Majesty, is a true State of the Fact relating to Edward Loyd; and upon it, we beg leave further to Observe and Represent to Your Mae jesty, our humble Opinion, That as the granting Noli prosequi's is an undoubted Prerogative of the ' Crown, so the issuing one in this Case, was an Inflance of Your Majesty's Goodness and Compasfion; and that the then Lords-Justices, together with the Privy-Council, who represented 6 faid Loyd as an Object of Your Majesty's Mercy,

have not, in our Opinion, acted in this Matter

contrary to their Duty, or the Protestant Interest ' of this Kingdom. 'As to the Directions given by the Lord Chancellor in Council to the Lord Mayor and Aldere men of the City of Dublin, we beg leave to obferve unto Your Majesty, That his Lordship then e gave no other Directions to them, than what he receiv'd from Your Majesty, or was Instructed to e give them by the Privy-Council. The Lord Chancellor, at the desire of the House, laid before us a Copy of his Speech, taken from the Original, he having reduced it to Writing before he spoke it to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Council, the 6 16th of January, 1712. And for our Satisfaction, 6 feveral Lords of the Council, who were prefent when those Directions were given, did fully attest, that the Copy produced to us, did agree, to the best of their Remembrance, with what he had deliver'd in Council which was as follows:

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

E send for you by Her Majesty's Special Command; 'tis to let you know that Her Majesty takes Notice, That there are many scandalous and feditious Libels and Pamphlets daily dispersed in this City: And therefore Her Majefly commands your Lordship, the Aldermen, and the other Magistrates, to use your utmost Endeavours to suppress and prevent such feditious Libels, and to cause the Authors and Publishers of 'em to be apprehended. We are very well affured of your Lordship's Loyalty to Her Majesty, and of your Zeal for Her Service; and therefore don't in the least doubt the Performance of your Duty in this or any other respect. You are likewise directed by Her Majesty, to enquire into the Fomenters of the late Disorders in this City.

Your Lordship remembers the great Riot com-* mitted in the Play-house on his late Majesty's Birth-day, a Day that we shall be as ready as any • Persons in the World to celebrate with all the Refpect and Honour due to the Memory of that

Great Prince.

6 But when things are come to that pass, that 6 Gentlemen think the best way to commemorate his late Majesty is, by affronting Her present Ma-

fighty, and infulting Her Authority.

When Gentlemen (whose Education should teach e'em better) shall take upon them, in Destance of 4 Authority, to speak a Prologue, which has been forbid by the Government two Years successively; a Prologue that founds an Alarm, and invites Her Majesty's Subjects to make War against those with whom Her Majesty thinks fit to make Peace, and to take up Arms to drive the King of Spain out of those Dominions which Her Majesty by her Articles of Peace has stipulated he shall enjoy; I 0002

fay, when Gentlemen carry Things to this Height, 'tis time for the Government to exert themselves in Defence of Her Majesty's Authority: For what is this, but to rob Her Majesty of that Part of Her Prerogative which was always allow'd her by the worst of her Enemies, The Power of making Peace and War. This was an Offence of that Magnitude that we thought it our Duty to lay it before the Queen; and tho' Her Majesty is greatly offended at it, yet she is pleas'd in Judgment to remember Mercy, and hath commanded us to fingle out the most flagrant Offender, and to prosecute him with the utmost Severity of the Law, but is gracionfly pleas'd to discharge the rest from any farther Prosecution. We shall be sure to pay Obedience to Her Majesty's Command, and we hope that in this, and all other Cases, where Her Majesty is concern'd, the Sheriffs will take Care to return Understanding Juries that know their Dutv. and the Obligation of an Oath, Men of fuch Integrity and Loyalty, as will take Care Her Majesty has equal Justice with Her Subjects, and that is all is desired. And 'tis to be hoped, it will not seem hard that Her Majesty should expect Justice from a City

There is another thing which we recommend to 'you, Which is, the preventing Publick Mass being faid contrary to Law, by Priests not Registred, or that will not take the Abjuration Oath, or are o-'therwise disabled from Officiating. We have more than ordinary Reason to press this, because we

which partakes so liberally of Her Bounty.

fuffer by your Neglect.

'The Country generally make the City their Pattern, and after your Example become Negliegent of their Duty in this respect; for being ask'd, Why they permit publick Mass to be said? Their Answer is, 'Tis done in Dublin', and as we are inform'd, by the Approbation of the Government, for

for else it would not be done; and why fhould we be more Officious than others? There are very good Laws made to prevent this, and we have issued a Proclamation for the due Execution of those Laws, and have charg'd it in the most pressing Terms we could; and now we recommend it to you again, That if there be any neglect of this kind for the suture, the People may know at whose Door to lay it.

'Your Majesty in your Royal Wisdom
'will judge how reasonable and equal it
was, to desire that the same Justice which
the meanest of Your Subjects enjoy,
should be extended to such Cases, in
which the Honour and Sasety of Your
Government are concerned.

We have lately prefumed to address
Your Majesty, on the Occasion of a malicious and villainous Aspersion on the Lord Chancellor. And we are strengthned in our Opinion of his Lordship's having acquitted himself with Honour and Integrity from the further Enquiries we have

fince made.

We do faithfully assure Your Majesty, that nothing shall ever divert us from proceeding with Unanimity and Temper in the Dispatch of the publick Business, and in establishing the Peace of this Kingdom, by discountenancing the restless Endeavours of those Factious Spirits who attempt to sow Jealousses and raise groundless Fears in the Minds of Your Majesty's People.

Their

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adjourn.

Their Lordships having on the 23d of December at Night finish'd the foregoing Representation, presented the same the Both Houses next Day, and then adjourn'd themselves

to the 7th of January next.

On the 23d the Commons ordered. That the Thanks of this House be given by the surn'd to Mr. Speaker to John Forfter, Esq; Recorder of Forfier. Votes the City of Dublin, for his unshaken and in Favour of steddy Behaviour in the Defence of the Alderman Liberties of the City of Dublin, and of Gore and otbers.

the Protestant Interest in this Kingdom. And Mr. Speaker gave him the Thanks of the House accordingly. After this it was resolved. 1. F That Alderman Ralph Gore. Late Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin,

hath with great Fidelity and Courage discharged the Duty of his Place, whilst

Lord Mayor, and particularly by reje-

e eting a base and corrupt Offer made him

by Martin Tucker, Esq; Sub-collector of

the Port of Dublin, of Five Hundred • Pound, to impose a Common-council on

the faid City; and thereby was very in-

ftrumental in preserving the Rights and

Liberties of the faid City of Dublin.

2. ' That Sir John Rogerson, Kt. Tho. Quin, Samuel Walton, John Page, Ben.

Burton, John Pearson, John Eccles, James Barlow, Ralph Gore, John Stoyte, Thomas

Pleasants, Thomas Bolton, Anthony Barky.

Matthew Pearson, William Quail, Thomas.

Wilkinson, George Forbus, Thomas Curtis,

Robert Chetham, and William Dixon, Al-

dermen of the City of Dublin, have ' shewn great Virtue and Resolution in

defending the Rights and Liberties of the

faid City. The

The next Day * the Right Honourable Vol. VI. Theophilus Burler, Esq. reported from the Committee appointed to wait on his *Dec. 24.

Grace the Lord-Lieutenant, to lay before the Officers and his Grace the Resolution of this House Soldiers (on relating to Captain Hales and the other the 6th of Officers, that he had attended his Grace Nov. approv'd. and laid before him the faid Refolution: To which his Grace was pleased to return for Answer, He was pleased to find that the said Officers and Soldiers had behaved themselves so as to deserve the Approbation of the Houle.

After this the Commons adjourn'd to

the 14th of January next.

Her Majesty's Answer to the Lds Address The Queens in favour of the Ld. Chanc, as follows: Answer to the Lords

TER Majesty has always look'd on the Lord Chancellor as a faithful Servant to the Crown, and true Lover of

the Constitution in Church and State, and

is therefore extremely well pleased to find by their Address, that this House con-

curs in the same Opinion of him.

Sir Constantine Phipps having, on several Occasions, particularly at Dr. Sacheverel's Trial, strenuously defended the Church, the Convocation of Ireland thought themfelves bound in Gratitude, to join with the House of Lords in his Lordship's Vindication; and thereupon they unanimously' agreed † to the following Address to the + Dec. 21 Queen.

WE

The POLITICAL STATE

Dec. 21st.

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The Convocations Address to the Queen, in Vindication Chancellor.

TE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy, in Convocation asfembled, being deeply sensible of those unhappy Divisions under which this Kingdom labours, and to what Difficulties they of the Lord are exposed, who in this degenerate Age, appear with Resolution in the Cause of Religion and Loyalty, humbly beg leave to represent to Your Majesty, that even the High Stations in which Your Majesty has thought fit to place Sir Constantine Phipps, have not secur'd him against Calumny and Reproach.

We should be ungrateful and unjust to Your Majesty, if we were less ready to acknowledge the exalted Virtue of Your excellent Minister, than the Voice of Envy

can be to calumniate and defame it.

We are fully persuaded of his true Zeal for the Church, as by Law establish'd, his unshaken Fidelity to Your Majesty's Perfon and Government, and firm Adherence to the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover, whereby he has gain'd the General Love, Esteem, and Admira-

tion of Your Faithful Clergy.

May that Providence which apparently presides in all your Councils, ever guide and conduct you; may It never fuffer Your Majesty to want a Servant of equal Courage, Uprightness, and Abilities; nor may this Church and Nation ever be without such a Friend, for the Suppression of Vice, Schism, and Faction, and for the Support of your Royal Prerogative, as well as the Rights and Liberties of your Subjects. The

The Convocation having, on the other hand, fent a Message of Thanks to the Lord Chancellor, his Lordship return'd them this Answer:

Will not be deterr'd by any Menaces The Ld Chanor Dangers whatsoever, from doing to the Thanks
my utmost to support, and maintain her of the ConvaMajesty's Prerogative, the Rights and Li-cation.
berties of her Subjects, and our Constitution both in Church and State.

Not many Days after, Rob. Molesworth, Mr. Moles-Esq; was removed from being one of the worth re-Privy-council; and the Earl of Barrimore and the E. of sworn one of them: And before the Barrimore Parliament met, they were prorogued to sworn into the the 18th of January next.

Privy Council.

To omit nothing material of what past The Parliam. in this remarkable Session of the Irish Par-prorogued. liament, we shall here insert the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, in relation to Dudley Moore, Esq;

which is as follows:

HE Committee enquired into the Proceedings which have been had against Report of the Dudley Moore Esq; and several committee in other Gentlemen, on Account of a late pre-Moore. tended Riot on the 4th of November 1712, and have agreed upon a Report, which is as followeth.

Upon the 4th of November, 1712, the Birth-Day of our late Glorious Deliverer, King William the Third, the Play of Tamerlane was defired to be acted at the Play-House, and Dr. Garth's Prologue to it, which (as your Committee was informed) had been frequently spoke before, was likewise desired to be Ppp

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spoke before the Play, which Prologue is inferted in the Body of the Information to which your Committee refer: That upon the Actors refusing to speak the said Prologue, Dudley Moore, Esq. conceiving it, as he informed the Committee, only a handsome Encomium upon King William, got upon the Stage, and there repeated the said Prologue: That in a few Days after, he, and the other Gentlemen, were examined before Mr. Justice Coose, and bound over to

appear at the Queen's-Bench.

Mr. John Caldwell, Deputy Clerk of the Crown, being examined, says, That the Examinations of Jos. Ashbery, Cor. o Bryan, John Leigh, and James Mc. Kenna, against the said Dudley Moore and the other Gentlemen, were returned into the Queen's-Bench in Michaelmass-Term, 1712, and were then sent up to the Grand Jury of the City of Dublin, together with the Bill of Indiament affixed to them: That the Grand Jury, the Last Day of the Term, returned Billa vera upon the Indiament, as he correhended; and that thereupon the said Du

and the other Gentlemen appeared and t Indicament, and gave Security to appe cute their Traverse the next Term; Grand Jury was then discharged : 7 after the Bill of Indicament was rett Attorney General gone out of Co Ralph Gore, who was Foreman of t came into Con- and made Affidavit. was indorf Bill of Indiament and being ry, for that the C found it Is d ordered him and theref hat the faid Ir o its being an be returne d not do. the Court fa being, as the now dif whereas he had of the Grand I "t ordere

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for December, 1713. his Affidavit in that Particular, and to interline the Word Late.

That presently after, the whole Grand-Jury came in a Body into the Court, in order to certify to the Court the Mistake, and to pray that the Bill of Indiament might be amended as they had found it, but that they were told by the Court, That being now discharged they could take no Notice of them, and advised them to reduce what they had to offer into an Affidavit, that the Gourt might confider of it; which they accordingly did very soon after.

He further informed the Committee, That not-Withstanding this Dudley Moore, Esq; and the rest of the Gentlemen were bound over, and appeared Pursuant to their Recognizance the first Day of

Hillary Term.

That upon Mr. Attorney-General's Motion on the 27th of January there was a Rule for Tryal on the Thursday following, and the Traversers were

ordered to prepare.

That the Rule for Tryal was vacated the 4th of February upon Mr. Attorney-General's Motion, ho' opposed by the Council for the Traversers, press'd for and insisted upon their Tryals the Day appointed for it.

in the next Day, the 5th of February, Rule entered, as by the Consent of Mr. Sollicitor-General, tho' not moved ed to by the Council of the Traver-Indictment should be quashed, and n, and particularly the faid Dudbe Discharged.

Essoyne-Day of Easter Term ation Filed by Mr. Attorney-Matter against Dudley Moore ch, Process iffued to the Sheublin, and Mr. Tyfdal and Mr. · Calde D p 2

Ipoke before the Play, which Prologue is inferted in the Body of the Information to which your Committee refer: That upon the Actors refusing to speak the said Prologue, Dudley Moore, Esq. conceiving it, as he informed the Committee, only a handsome Encomium upon King William, got upon the Stage, and there repeated the said Prologue: That in a few Days after, he, and the other Gentlemen, were examined before Mr. Justice Cotte, and bound over to appear at the Queen's-Bench.

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his Affidavit in that Particular, and to interline

the Word Late. That presently after, the whole Grand-Jury came in a Body into the Court, in order to certify

to the Court the Mistake, and to pray that the Bill of Indiament might be amended as they had found it, but that they were told by the Court, That being now discharged they could take no Notice of them, and advised them to reduce what they had to offer into an Affidavit, that the Court might

consider of it; which they accordingly did very 6 foon after.

. He further informed the Committee, That notwithstanding this Dudley Moore, Esq; and the rest of the Gentlemen were bound over, and appeared pursuant to their Recognizance the first Day of Hillary Term.

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That upon the next Day, the 5th of February, there was a Rule entered, as by the Consent of Mr. 4 Attorney and Sollicitor-General, tho' not moved for nor confented to by the Council of the Traverfers, That the Indicament should be quashed, and

all the Gentlemen, and particularly the faid Dud-

• ley Moore, should be Discharged.

That before the Essoyne-Day of Easter Term there was an Information Filed by Mr. Attorney-General for the same Matter against Dudley Moore Elq; only; upon which, Process issued to the Sheriss of the City of Dublin, and Mr. Tysdal and Mr.

Pppa

4 Accordingly he did appear the 6th of November 4 last, being the first Day of Michaelmas Term.

On the 16th of November, Mr. Whishead moved

the Court for their Opinion on the Rules conceived on Mr. Attorney-General's Motions the 13th of

"June last; but they would then make no Rule.

'The Court was again moved the 17th by Mr. Speaker and Mr. Whitshead, on the same Subject, but would not then deliver any Opinion.

On the 25th of November, Mr. Dean moved the

- Court for their Judgment, who would not then make any Rule; and they were again moved by Mr.
- Mahon the 28th, being the last Day of Michaelmas Term, for their Resolution; which they still re-
- fused to deliver, but continued Mr. Moore on his

Recognizance till the first of next Term.

And upon this Foot, after Mr. Moore's attending five Terms, this Affair stands in the Court of

Queen's Bench.

- The Committee reported further, That they were informed by Mr. John Moore, That as he be-
- lieved, there were some extraordinary Steps taken
 in this Cause, while under the Determination and
- ' Judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench, so he
- apprehended there was one of a much more ex-
- traordinary and dangerous Nature taken elsewhere,
- and therefore desired Alderman John Eccles might be examined before the Committee; who being
- accordingly produced, informed the Committee as
- follows.
 - That he, amongst the rest of the Twenty-sour Aldermen, was summoned by my Lord Mayor's
 - Officer on the 15th of January 1712. to attend my

Lord Mayor to the Castle the next Day.

- 'That he accordingly came to the Tholfel the next
 Day being the 16th of Jan. from whence he went
- with my Lord Mayor, and the rest of the Alder-
- men, in a Body to the Castle about Seven a Clock

in the Evening, where they were introduced to the

Lords-Justices then fitting in Council.

'That upon coming into the Room, Sir Constantine Phapps, Kt. Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and then one of the Lords-Justices, addressed himself to my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen in these ' Terms, or Words to this Effect.

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen.

E have fent for you to let you know, That her Majesty has taken Notice, That sevee ral Libels and Scandalous Papers have been lately for printed and dispersed in this City, and 'tis expected from you my Lord Mayor, and fuch of the Aldere men as are Magistrates, that you inquire into this Matter, and suppress those Practices, and find out those who disperse those Libels. Her Majesty is much offended at the late Riot that was in this 'City on the last King William's Birth-Day: We all have a Regard for his Memory, but 'tis not fit to e pay our Respects to his Memory by Affronting, the Queen. The Prologue that was that Day read, was twice before prohibited by the Government; and those Gentlemen who were concerned in that Matter, ought to have known themselves better, than to have read a Prologue so Seditious: That Prologue founds the Trumpet to War against that e very Prince the Qeeen thinks fit to support on his Throne, and even the worst of her Majesty's Ene-6 mies own, That it is her undoubted Prerogative to e make Peace or War. Her Majesty has ordered us to direct, that the Matter be prosecuted with the utmost Severity of Law, and yet in the midst of Justice is pleased to think of Mercy, by ordering only one of the Persons concerned to be prosecuted, and that will be one of them whom we shall think deserves most to be punished. My Lord Mayor, I hope such Officers in your City as are 486

concerned in returning Juries, will take Care to return such Persons on the Jury, as will, when they have Sworn, have Regard to their Consciences and Oaths, by letting the Queen have an equal share of Instice with her Subjects, which sure she ought to have in this City, which partakes so much of her Bounty and Favour. I am likewise to let you know from her Majesty, That you are to suppress all Popish Mass-Houses in your City, whose Priests that have not qualified themselves by taking the Oath of Abjuration, Officiate, Your suffering Priests to say " Mass is a Reflection on us, as if we favoured them: 'You have good Laws to suppress them, and 'tis exe pected you put them in Execution. This is what we have to give you in Command from her Majefty. Hereupon the Lord Mayor was retiring, Hold, ((fays the Lord Chancellor) my Lord Mayor, we have fomething more to fay to you. You my Lord Mayor, have behaved your felf so well since you came ' into this Station, that you deserve a particular Mark of our Favour for your Duty and Loyalty to the Oueen: You must be Knighted. And so Knighted him. He likewise informed the Committee, That asfoon as they withdrew, they attended the Lord Mayor to the Tholsel, and immediately after, he, and a great many of the Aldermen went to the Rose-Tavern, and consulting there among themfelves, reduced what my Lord Chancellor had faid to them in the Council Chamber to Writing, in which they all agreed, and verily believes what is ' above reported, which he read out of a Paper, which he affirmed to be a true Copy of the Paper wrote that Night at the Rose, to be as near as posfible, the Words my Lord Chancellor spoke on that Coccasion.

'Alderman John Page being examined, and having the above Words given in Evidence to the Committee by Alderman Eccles, read to him, faid, he verily believes

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believes the Words read to him were the Words

the Lord Chancellor spoke on that Occasion.

' Mr. Alderman Burton being likewise examined, ' said, That he agrees in every Circumstance with Alderman Eccles and Page.

'Upon the whole Matter, the Committee conceiving the Proceedings in this Cale to be very Extraordinary, and of great Consequence, were un-willing to come to any Resolution therein, but

humbly fubmit the Consideration thereof to the ' House.

By Virtue of an Order of the House of Commons, I do appoint Francis Dixon to print this Report, and that no other Person to presume do print the same.

Alan. Brodrick, Speaker.

Hereupon, (on the 22d of December,) the Commons Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in Heads of a Bill to limit the Time for Criminal Profecutions for Words spoken.

The Lord Chancellor Phipps had vast Numbers of Champions in Great-Britain: Revery Tory thinking himself obliged to fues in Great vindicate him upon account of his Zea-Britain, about lous Adhering to the Church's Cause, in the Proceeds Doctor Sacheveral's Tryal, and giving out ings against that the Resolutions of the Commons as the Ld. Changainst him, were not of Irish Growth, but the cellor Phipps.
Refult of the joint Counsels of the Whigs of Bosh Kingdoms. On the other hand the Whigg-Party loudly justify'd the Proceedings against that Minister; and for that Purpose caused a Pamphlet to be publish'd, Pamphletwise entituled the Resolutions of the House of tenby a Mentioner of Ireland, relating to the Lord berof the Hos Chancellor Phipps examin'd, with REMARKS C. of Ireland on the Chancellor's Speech; By a Member of on of that H.

Qqq

---- ' Is there not some Chosen Curse,

Some hidden Thunder in the Stores of Heav'n,

4 Red with uncommon Wrath, to blast the Man,

Who owes his GREATNESS to his Country's RUIN?

The Author tells us, That, 'The Resolutions of the 4 House of Commons of Ireland in relation to Chancellor Phipps, are the Subject of every Conversation. 'And most People, without examining, applaud or censure them by the Prejudice of their Party. But that for his own Part he professes himself disengag'd from all fuch Prejudices; and refolv'd throughly ' to consider that Affair before He determines any 'Thing.' After this short Preamble, the Author fets down at length, both the Resolutions of the Commons, and the Chancellor's Speech on the 16th of January 1712 to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. of Dublin, as above mention'd; and then he makes his Observations on Both; without, as he pretends, Straining the Sense, or Words of the Chanceller, either in his Favour or Prejudice; and examines whether he is guilty of what the Commons have alledg'd against him, That he took upon him to prejudge the Merits of the Cause, or not?

The Speech, (Says the Author) is usher'd in with a Special Command from the Queen, to incite the Magistrates to suppress Scandalous and Seditious

Libels. I believe, that her Majesty's Commands

were equally to the Chancellor, and if fo, it's fomething odd that he should insist that other People

flould do their Duty, whilst he negletts his own. What fignifies the Efforts of the Lord Mayor and Justices

fignifies the Efforts of the Lord Mayor and Justices
 of Peace, whilft the chief Magistrate becomes the

Advocate for the most vile and scandalous Libeller

Advocate for the mest vile and scandalous Libeller

in the Kingdom, and arrests the Laws by a Noli orosequi in his Favour. This may be Mercy, but how far that Mercy is consistent with Justice, or even with the Chancellor's Speech, I shan't determine. But to proceed: The next thing he comes to is, to e remind his Lordship of a Riot committed in the ' Play-House on the Birth-Day of the late King, and this is what the Commons call prejudging the Cause. Let's fee what the Words will bear: That Part of the Speech, without the least Alteration of the Sense, and very little of Words, will run thus. My Lord, I have all the Respect in the World for the Memory of the late King William, but things are now come to that pass, that you can't commemorate him, but by affronting her present Majesty, and insulting her Au-thority. I tell you, that the Gentlemen who would have spoken the Prologue on that Day, did it in Desiance of Authority, and are guilty of sounding an Alarm, and inviting her Majesty's Subjects to make War against those with whom her Majesty thinks fit to make Peace, and to take up Arms to drive the King of Spain out of those Dominions which her Majesty has stipulated he shall enjoy. When things are at this Height, is't time for the Government to exert it self; for this is robbing her Majesty of her Prerogative of making Peace and War. Her Majesty is offended at this, but She's so merciful as to forgive all but one. There's therefore one Dudley Moore, whom we single out as the most flagrant Offender, and we are determined to prosecute him with the utmost Violence of the Law. But since the Law requires in these Cases, that there should be Jury, we therefore hope, that the Sheriffs will return such Loyal Men as will do Justice to her Majesty. And its hoped, that it wont seem hard to you that her Majesty should EXPECT Justice from a City, which partakes so Liberally of her Bounty.

6 This

" This is what the Commons call pre-judging of the * Case; for if the Chancellor had no Mind to have influenc'd the Lotd-Mayor and Aldermen, could he on not have left it to the common course of Justice, without an Explanation of the Fact. It had been more then sufficient, if he had told them, that there was a Riot committed in the Play-House, and that her Majesty had ordered him to prosecute one of the Offenders, and he did hope that her Majesty fhould have Justice. Would not the Nature of the Riot have appear'd to the Jury on the Trial? And. are not the Jury and Judges the proper Persons to have found out the dangerous ills that lurked in the Prologue, upon a fair Tryal; but the Lord Chancellor wifely confidering, that ignorant Citizens were but bad Judges, and worse Explainers of Poetry, was resolv'd to help their Understandings, and tell them plainly that the Prologue was an Alarm to Rebellion, and that the speaking of it was no other than beating the Drum of Sedition to raise Volunteers without a beating Order, to drive 6 Philip from those Dominions which her Majesty had flipulated he should enjoy. This is the Sense that the Lord Chancellor would have the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen to understand the Prologue in; and perhaps without his telling them 10, they, nor the Jury, would never have found it out. A Judge from the Bench goes beyond his Commission, if he pretends to explain Matter of Fact to a 'Jury. If a Difficulty arises in Point of Law, the Judges then not only may, but ought to clear up the Point; but I believe it has hardbeen known, that ever a chief Governour in Ireland took upon him to explain a Fact, before Trial, to a Lord Mayor and Aldermen; and after having preposses'd them with the Heinousness of the Crime, to tell them that the Obligations that that City had to the Queen, ought to influence the Iury

try'd, and if found guilty, Mercy had then come in its proper Place; but my Lord Chancellor has a

'particular way of his own, he forgives as Jeffery's us'd to hang before Trial. The invidious Distindion, which is infinuated by Men of Loyalty, is what cannot be pass'd over without Notice. All Prote-

ftants.

stants in Ireland value themselves on their Lovalty. and are, I dare fay, truly, heartily, and zealoufly Loyal to her present Majesty. The Distinction of ' Parties in Ireland is widely different from what it is here. The Difference is not in Words, but in 'Things; Protestant and Papist were formerly all the Distinction, but since the Chancellor's coming there, the Terms of Whie and Tory are come into Fashion: All the Protestants in Ireland are sensible of the Effects of the late happy Revolution; they revere the Memory of their Deliverer, and gratefully acknowledge the Bleffings of the Almighty through him. England indeed had their Religion, their Laws and Liberties rescued from arbitrary Power: But the Irish Protestants had more, their Lives, their Estates were in the Hands of the Deftroyers, their Persons imprisoned, and their Eftates feiz'd by the old Popish Proprietors. Those few that escaped Prisons, were naked, and strol-' ling like Vagabonds, eating the Bread of Charity; but Providence at last sent them a Deliverer, and they were restored by him to their Habitations. Ought Obligations of this Nature to be forgotten? Surely No: Yet such is the Unhappiness of Party, that Men cannot be Grateful, but they must be thought Difloyal. The Chancellor ever fince his coming into Ireland, has discouraged all those who were Lovers of the Memory of King William, branded them with a Party-Name, and called them Whigs; whilst the Papists, taking Advantage of the Diflinction, make a Virtue of defaming his late Majefly, and, by that Means obtain a Shelter from the other Party, and are profest Tories. Thus our Parties are come in Fashion, in a Country where they were hardly known; and the most inveterate Pa-' pist, because he can rail at King William and call himself a Tory, finds Countenance, or at least Prote-' aion

&ion, whilst an honest Church of Ireland Protestant. is neglected and vilified, for no other Reason, but because he cannot forget the Man, to whom, under Heaven, he owes the very Bread he eats. Thus the Protestants there are counted Disloyal, whilst the Papists, and the new Converts, are received 6 like truly Loyal and Obedient Subjects; and yet I would lay my Life, that there is not a Protestant in that Kingdom, that is able to carry Arms, that would not readily spend the last Drop of his Blood in the Defence of her present Majesty, whilst the favour'd new Converts and Papists, with their boafted Loyalty, would to a Man turn Recreants to the Government, and join with the Pretender. Unhap-• py Ireland! How are thy People mifrepresented before the Throne of the best of Queens? The truly Loyal and good Patriots are styl'd factions, whilft the Murtherers of our Fathers are Loyal. The Sere pent, whilst frozen, was unable to do Mischief, but he no fooner reviv'd, than he stung the very Bosom from whence he receiv'd the reviving Warmth. Such is an Irish Papist, with his boasted Loyalty. Whilst depress'd, he is humble and fawning, but upon the least Encouragement from the Governe ment, the Serpent regains his Sting, and uses it with all his native Rancour. Loyalty in them is a 6 Contradiction in Nature; they inherit Malice and Revenge from Generation to Generation. English Protestants, and their Descendants, are looked upon as the Usurpers of their Estates, and ever fince the first Conquest, they have laid hold on all Occasions to destroy both the Root and Branch of that People. Their noisy Loyalty has ee ver been a Stale to their Rebellion, and ferved as Pretence to perpetrate the greatest of Villanies. Was not the Tragedy of Forty One begun with that Pretence? And did not those Villains defame the best best

their Duty, for that the Country took Examople by them; and when they (the Justices in the Country I suppose he means) were asked, why they fuffered Mass to be said publickly? The Answer was, it was done in Dublin. I believe I can assign a better Reason, why Mass is said publickly in the 'Country, contrary to Law, than his Lordship has been pleased to give. He observes, that this is a-' ched through the Remisness of the Magistrates; but 'what Magistrates are remis? even those of his own making. His Lordship, to increase his Number of Men of Loyalty, (I mean, Men that rail at King William) has put most of the new Converts into the Commission of the Peace; and it is from these ' Magistrates, that Priests, not registred according to Law, find Shelter and Protection; and dare, in Defiance of the Laws, to fay Mass openly. That Encouragement should be given to new Converts, I ' allow; and the Acts of Parliament in Ireland have ' sufficiently provided for it; but for a Man of Forty ' Years of Age, who has all his Life-Time liv'd a violent Roman Catholick, on his coming over to the 'Church of Ireland, to be put into the Commission of Peace, and entrusted with the immediate Execution of those Laws, which are in Force against that · Religion, of which he was but the last Year a zea-· lous Professor, is a piece of Policy beyond my Understanding. Is it to be supposed, that at such an Age, a Man's Conversion is real? Or, suppose it were, and that the Person coming over to the 6 Church of Ireland, is a fincere Convert; Can he fo immediately forget all his Friends and Relations, whom he left in the Popish Religion? And will ont he have some Regard to their Consciences, who have not received the Grace of being converted as well as himself? Can he be so deaf to the Ties of Relation, as to give up a Priest his Cousin, or per-Rrr

haps, Brother, to be profecuted according to Law, where only his winking can fave him? This I believe is not to be supposed; What signifies then that the Law fays, That all the Priests, allowed by Act of Parliament, shall be register'd, ' and. after their Death, none shall succeed them; when the Seminaries abroad can furnish them with ⁶ Successors, and those Successors are sure of a new converted Relation, a Justice of the Peace to protect, or at least, skreen them from the Law? From hence it is that Mass comes to be said publickly in • the Country, in Defiance of the Law; and, by this Means, the Growth of Popery increases, and the Protestant Interest is weakened; barefaced Jacobitism is avowed, and the Friends of the Pretender dare openly avow their Principles. The Laws are wery plain against these Practices, but the Execution of those Laws must be remiss and weak, whilst entrusted in such Hands. I do not doubt but it will be readily ask'd here, If there are no old Proteflant Justices: Yes, thank God there are; but very · few of the Chancellor's making. He, good Man, took Care to increase the Number of his Men of Loyalry; and the new Converts were the only Protestants in Ireland, that hated King William, and, of · Course, fittest to be employ'd under the Chancel-· lor's Administration. The Distinction of his Fa-· vour to those Men, has, in some Measure, cow'd the English Protestant Magistracy from putting the Laws in Execution. They durst not present a · Priest at the Quarter-Sessions, for Fear of being call'd · Factions; whilst the Priest, whom they would have profecuted, perhaps was protected by the Sheriff, fome new Convert, who, in most of the Countries, · always was approv'd by the Chancellor, against an · English Protestant Competitor. Should a Protestant ' Justice of the Peace, I say, have presented such

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a Priest, the Prosecution would certainly have been esteemed factions and malicious, and, upon the Intercession of the favourite Loyal Sheriss, a Noli prosequi might, perhaps, be obtained from the Chancellor, and the Prosecutor left to the Resentment and Revenge of his Roman Catholick Neighbours.

⁶ The Commons of I land accuse the Lord Chancellor of being the Occasion of Divisions amongst them, and truly I think with Justice. The Protefant Intetrest in Ireland, before the Chancellor's 'Time, was firm and united: Whig and Tory were one and the same Thing; and, as I observed above, the only material Distinction was, Protestant and Papist: The Party Names has created some Distin-6 ction and Animosity amongst them; but the Proteflants of Ireland will always find it their Interest to unite. Could Parties be brought to that pass, which they are in Britain, the Irish Protestants e might take a Farewel to their Liberties, their Eftates, and their Lives. The Popish Faction will freadily fall in with either Side, to crush the other:
They are vigilant and active on every Occasion, and only want to bring Divisions to a Heighth, that they may once more fatiate their Revenge, and bath themselves in the Blood of Protestants. The Noli Prosequi against Lloyd, for publishing the Memoirs of the Chevalier De St. George, gave them ftrange Encouragement and Hopes. They began to talk of repealing Laws, and being restored to their forfeited Estates. A Popish Prince was full in view, and they could not contain their Exultations; this justly alarm'd the Protestants, and truly it was high time, when some of them had the Impudence to declare, that they would not take Twenty Years Purchase for those Estates which Rrr2

true Sense, to her Majesty; they are ready to facrifice their All, to support Her on the Throne, which She rightfully and lawfully inherits; and

· notwithstanding

onotwithstanding all the Endeavours to disunite them, resolve themselves into no other Distindion of Parties, than that made by his late Majefty, viz. These who are for the Protestant Religion, and present Establishment; and these who mean a Popish Prince and French Government. Such a House of Commons could not but take Notice of the ⁴ Mal-Administration of the Chancellor; and therefore as it was their Duty, like good and loyal Subjects, they have address'd the Queen for his Removal. Whilst on the other Hand, the Lords and the House of Convocation make Address in his Favour, and represent him as a faithful, vigilant, and loyal Magistrate. This clashing of Opinions in the Two Houses, occasions much matter of Speculation in Britain, and People, for want of knowing what the Lords are in Ireland, are apt to condemn the Commons of Passion, in their Resolutions against the Chancellor; but to oput that matter into a proper Light, I must here take Notice, that English Gentlemen can have no iust Notion of the Irish House of Lords.

⁶ The Mention of a House of Lords in Britain, gives the Idea of the most August Assembly in the World; but if we form our Notions of the Irish by the British House of Lords, we are vaftly wide of the Mark. The Temporal Lords in Ireland that have Session, are a very inconsiderable Number; for the Spiritual, which are Twenty Six, generally make up the better Half of the ' House. The Lists printed here, are scandalously erroneous; by them one would imagine the Lords Temporal to be numerous; but the Fault blies in this, that the whole Irish Peerage is re-' turned in the List, whilst not a Third Part of them have Session in the House, most of the Lords 6 being

The Bishops then making the most considerable Part of the House of Lords, it is not much to be wondered at, that the Chancellor should gain their Voices: I will not say, that the three vacant Bishopricks could any Way insuence that venerable Order of Men; but I dare say this, that a noify Zeal for the Church has had a good Deal of Effect on those Reverend Prelates. What is the Liberties of the People to them, now the Church is out of Danger? And could they do less, at a dead Lift, than help the Man, to whom they imagine they owe the restoring of Episcopacy to its primitive Dignity and Authority?

'It would be down-right Ingratitude in them to deny the Chancellor their Voices. They have on Temporal Estates to lose; and they may fancy, that even a Popish Precender would not dare 6 to lay facrilegious Hands on their Bishopricks. But the Lords Temporal, who have dirty Acres to lose, could not be of the Bishops Opinion, and therefore the most Part of them protested against the Address. These worthy Patriots were of the Commons Opinion, that the Lord Chancellor had acted contrary to the Protestant Interest in Ireland, and infringed the Liberties of the Peof ple; so that this Address was purely carried by the Majority of the Bishops, and might be properby entituled, An Address from the Lords Spiritual, and the Word Temporal, might be left out.

'The Convocation are the next Sticklers for the Lord Chancellor; here the Church comes again to favour him; but I am not much surprized at that.
'Some

Some of the Lower House are exactly the Chancellor's Men of Loyalty. Indefeafable Hereditary Right is preached up, in its utmost Extent, in the University of Dublin. This has debauched the 6 Minds, and vitiated the Principles of our young Divines. When they talk of Hereditary Right, they presently point out to whom it belongs, and fix their Passive Obedience, not to Her Maiesty, It's notorious how Two but to the Chevalier. from that University have behaved themselves in London; both Men of good Sense, but mistaken Principles. One of them, writing to his Friend in Ireland, has these Words in his Letter; "We " have great Expectance from the next Session, that "the folemn League and Covenant, alias the Abju-" ration Oath, will be repealed." I think this Gentleman's Meaning is pretty plain. The other is an Instance, that I mention with all imaginable Concern; and I could wish with all my Heart that it were false, on Account of the noble Family to which he does belong. The Person I mean, is of Quality, and a Clergyman, who was preferred to a Deanery by his Kinsman and Patron; but finding that the Law requires him to take the Oaths, he made a Conscience of swearing Allegiance to the QUEEN, and abjuring the Pretender, and so refused the Preferment and Dignity designed him. These are Patterns of our young Divines in Ire-' land, and I am afraid, upon Examination, there would be found more of that Piece: Such as these are proper Advocates for the Chancellor, and ready to prefent any Address in his Favour. would not be his Men of Loyalty, if they should refuse it; and that Title sticks nearest their Hearts: 6 But all their Addresses prove nothing in the Chancellor's Favour; for they don't confute one Word of the Matter of Fact of the Resolutions of the ' House

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House of Commons. So that notwithstanding these Addresses, I am still of the Opinion, that the

Resolutions are well grounded; and that their ad-

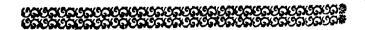
dressing Her Majesty for the Removal of the Lord Chancellor from all Places of Trust in Ireland, was

highly necessary for the Protestant Interest, and the

Peace and Welfare of that Kingdom.



A Lift



TOT TOT TOT TOT TOT TOT TOT TOT

A

LIST

OF THE

Lords Spiritual and Temporal.

Together with the

Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses

Of this present

PARLIAMENT,

Begun and Held at DUBLIN,

On Wednesday, the 25th of November, 1713:

NEXT REPORT OF THE PROPERTY OF



OF THE

PEERS of IRELAND.

Note, Those marked thus [*] are under Age.



IR Constantine Phipps, Knight, Lord Chancellor.

ARCH-BISHOPS 4.

R. Thomas Lyndsey, Lord Arch-Bishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.

Dr. William King, Lord Arch-Bishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland.

Dr. William Pallisur, Ld. Arch-Bishop of Cashel.

Dr. John Vefey, Ld. Arch-Bishop of Tuam.

DUKES 2.

Ames Butler, Duke of Ormond. Schonberg, Mainhardt Duke of Leinster.

EARLS 27.

Obert Fitz-Gerald, K E. of Kildare. Henry O Bryen, E. of Thomond. John Bourk, E. of Clanrickard. Charles Boyle, Earl of

Cork.

Alexander

Alexander Mac Donell, Charles Butler, Earl of E. of Antrim. Robert Dillon, Earl of Henry de Massue, E. of Roscomon. Robert Ridgway, E. of London-derry. Bazil Fielding, Earl Desmond. Chambers Brabazon 'E. of Meath. James Barry, E. of Barrimore. * Arthur Chichester, E. of Donegal. Richard Lambert, E. of Cavan. William O Brien, E. of Inchiquin. Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrory. Charles Coot, Earl of Montrath. Henry Moore, Earl of Drogheda. Charles Talbot, Earl of Waterford and Wexford. Hugh Montgomery, E. of Mount-Alexander. Francis Taaf, E. of Carlingford. Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard. Richard Coote, Earl of

Bellamont.

Athlone:

Arran. Gallway. Viscounts 43. Ichard Butler, Visc. Mountgarret. John Villiers, Visc. Grandison. Arthur Annelley, Viscount Valentia. Henry Dillon, Viscount Costellogallen. John Nettervile, Visc. Dowth. Arthur Loftus, Viscount Loftus of Ely. Robert Needham, Visc. Killmurry. Theobald Bourk, V. Mayo. George Saunderson, Vife. Castletown. John Scudamore, Vife. Sligoe. Richard Lumly, Viscount Waterford. Philip Smith, Vis. Strangford. Rich. Wenman, V. Tuam. Butler, V. Ikerine. Thomas Fitz-Williams, V. Merion. Brian Cockain, V. Cullen. Godart Ginkell, Earl of William Tracy, Viscount

Francis

Rathcoole.

Francis Smith, Vife. Carrington of Barrefore.

Rich Bulkeley, V. Cashel. Nicholas Barnwall, Visc.

Kingsland.

Rich. Boyle, V. Shanon. Clotworthy Skeffington, V. Massereen.

Hugh Cholmondley, Vifc. Kells.

Simon Banshaw, Viscount Dromore.

William Caulfield, Vife. Charlemont.

Folliot Wingfield, Visc. Powerscourt.

Morogh Boyle, Viscount Blessinton.

James Lane, V. Lanesborough.

Hen. Dawney, V. Downe. * Rich. Parsons, V. Rosse.

William Stewart, Vifc. Mountjoy.

John Vaughan, Viscount Lisburne...

Thomas Windesor, Visc. Windesor.

How. V. How James Hamilton, Viscount Strabane.

John Verney, Viscount Fermanagh.

Arthur St. Leger, Viscount Downrayle.

Paul Davys, V. Mount-cashel.

Sir Christopher Wandesford, V. Castlecomer-

Візнор з 18.

R. William Morteon, Ld. Bp. of Meath. Dr. Welbore Ellis, Lord Bp. of Kildare

Dr. Edward Wettenhall, Ld. Bp. of Killmore and Ardagh [dead.]

Dr. Simon Digby, Lord
Bp. of Elphin.

Dr Bartholomew Vigers, Ld, Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin.

Dr. William Fitz-Gerald, Ld. Bp. of Clonfert.

Dr. William Loyd, Lord Bishop of Killalla and Achonree.

Dr. John Hartstongue, Ld. Bp. of Osfory.

Dr. St. George Ash, Ld. Bp. of Clogher.

Dr. Thomas Smith, Lord

Bp. of Limerick.

Doctor Thomas Lyndsey, Lord Bp. of Raphoe, translated to Armagh.

Dr. Edward Smith, Ld.

Bishop of Downe and
Conner.

Dr. Charles Crowe, Ld. Bp. of Cloyne.

Dr.

Dr. Charles Hickman, Ld. Bp. of Derry [dead.] Dr. Thomas Mills, Lord Bishop of Waterford. Dr. Peter Browne, Lord Bp. of Cork and Rosse.

Dr. John Sterne, Ld. Bp. of Dromore.

Sir Thomas Vefey, Lord

Br. of Killallow.

BARONS 27.

Dward Bermingham, Baron of Athenree. Almericus Courcey, Baron of Kinfale.

Thomas Fitz Morris, Buron of Kerry and Lixnaw.

Thomas St. Lawrence, Baron of Howth.

Barnaby Fitz Patrick, Baof Upper Offory ron [dead.]

Thomas Butler, Baron of Cahir.

Henry Folliot, Baron of Ballyshanon.

Banester Maynard, Baron of Wicklow.

Richard Gorges, Baron of Dundalk.

William Digby, Baron of Geshill.

William Fitz William, Baron of Lifford.

Cadwallader Blayney, Baron of Monaghon.

Henry Hare, Baron of Colraine.

Benet Sherard, Baron of Letrim.

Francis Hawley, Baron of Dunamore.

Hildebrand Allington, Baron of Killatd.

John King, Baren of Kingfton. 🗸

Henry Barry, Baron of Santry.

Arthur Annelley, Raron of Altham.

Richard Bellew, Baron of Duleek.

Thomas Coningesby, Raron of Clanbrazill.

Henry Petty, Baron of Shelburne.

Charles O Hara, Baron of Tyrawley.

Francis Conway, Baron of Conway and Killutagh.

Michael, Ld. Bar. Bourke of Dunkellin.

Gervase Pierrepoint, Baron of Ardlass.

Peers in all 122.

A LIST of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of IRELAND.

Note, Those Persons of the House of Commons that have this Mark [+] were not Members in the last Parliament.

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OF THE

POLITICAL STATE

OF

Great Britain.

For the Months of July, August, September, October, November and December, MDCCXIII.

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